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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

FREDERICK,

THE THIRD

KING OF PRUSSIA.

BY JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

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CHAP. XXI.

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THE king of Pruſſia had opened the campaign of the year 1757, with the moſt conſummate military ſkill; and, in the battle of

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PRAGUE, had gained a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians. The manner, in which he opened his campaigns, has been much admired by military men. Major-general Lloyd ſays, that 'no 'general has ever opened the different campaigns 'with more greatneſs or preciſion than the king 'of Pruſſia. His quarters were ſo diſpoſed, 'that it was ſcarcely poſſible, from thence, to 'gueſs at his intentions; as he could, ſeemingly, 'with equal facility, form very different enter-'prizes. From whence it always happened, 'that he began his operations with great views, 'celerity, and exactneſs; and, when his troops 'were attacked in their quarters, they always 'aſſembled in the places appointed, without 'ever having ſuffered any conſiderable loſs: 'which is the more extraordinary, as he had very 'few light troops, eſpecially in the beginning[1].'

BUT though Frederick had hitherto been thus ſucceſsful, yet he was now about to ſuſtain a conſiderable reverſe of fortune. This was chiefly occaſioned by the appearance, on the theatre of war, of a new general, LEOPOLD count DAUN, who was now appointed to command the Auſtrian troops. He had never commanded in chief before; but he had been formed, by a long courſe of experience, in various parts of Europe, and under the ableſt generals. Though of an illuſ-

[1] Hiſtory of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 51.

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trious deſcent, he had riſen to his preſent rank by the ſlow gradation of mere merit, without any aſſiſtance from court favour [A]. He had under

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[A] Count DAUN was born in 1695, at Knin, a ſmall city ſituated upon a branch of the Moldau, about ten leagues from Prague. His father, Joſeph cóunt Daun, was of the imperial family; and his mother was daughter of count Konigſegg. At her marriage, her portion was five thouſand florins, and the little city of Konigſegg. The young count was not brought up in the manner uſual to perſons of his rank: he had few indulgencies, and his food was coarſe, and his clothes plain. He always went bare-headed; he was ſent to ſchool with other boys of his own age; and with them he was ſuffered to ramble about the woods, and to clamber up precipices, according to the cuſtom of the country. He was educated at Kolin, and the books in which he moſt delighted were Juſtin and Quintus Curtius, particularly the latter. At the age of fourteen he was ſent to the army in Flanders, and learned the firſt rudiments of the art of war under prince Eugene. He was a volunteer at the battle of Malplaquet; and his perſonal bravery being then much taken notice of by the famous count Kevenhuller, he was honoured after the battle with a ſtandard in the regiment of Keyſler, which he kept till the year 1717, when prince Eugene gave a total defeat to the Turks, at the battle of Peterwaradin. He had then ſtudied for ſix years the arts of gunnery and fortification; and it is alſo ſaid, that there was ſcarcely a village in Germany, Bohemia, or Hungary, with the ſituation and importance of which he was not accurately acquainted.

After the battle of Peterwaradin, he was advanced, by prince Eugene, to be a captain of dragoons; and, three years after, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was preſent at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734; and it was under his direction, that the cannon was fired by which

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under his command a large body of troops from Moravia, and received orders, before the battle of Prague, to join the main Auſtrian army near that city. When he arrived within a few miles of Prague, he received information of the victory, which had been obtained by the king of Pruſſia only the day before. Orders were afterwards ſent to him from the court of Vienna, to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for the ſervice of the empreſs-queen. He collected the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and ſoon drew together a force ſo conſiderable, as to attract the notice of the king of Pruſſia, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to attack him before numbers ſhould render him formidable. But count Daun was too prudent to give battle, with diſpirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired, when he received informa-

marechal Berwick was killed; though he regretted the death of that general, both on account of his military talents, and his virtues as a man. Count Daun ſerved in the Auſtrian army as a colonel of dragoons, in the firſt war that broke out between the king of Pruſſia and the empreſs-queen; and at the battle of Dettingen he commanded ſome Hungarians againſt the French. In 1745, he was made a general of infantry; and in 1751, he was commandant of Vienna. In 1753, he was made a knight of the golden fleece; and, in 1754, was promoted to the rank of field-marechal. He was a middle ſized man, and of a countenance remarkably engaging.

tion

tion that the Pruſſians were advancing, and took poſt at KOLIN. Here he intrenched himſelf ſtrongly, and his army ſoon grew more numerous by the ſuccours, which the court of Vienna exerted all their power to ſend him; and he inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, in expectation of being ſoon relieved. He divided the Pruſſian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his deſigns; he weakened his efforts againſt Prague, and harraſſed him by cutting off his convoys; and, by degrees, he reſtored the languiſhing and almoſt deſponding ſpirit of the Auſtrian troops. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

THE king of Pruſſia was fully ſenſible of the dangerous tendency to himſelf of the conduct of count Daun. He, therefore, determined, at all events, to attempt to diſlodge him from his poſt. He accordingly prepared to attack him with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Auſtrians now amounted to ſixty thouſand men; and they were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was fortified, and defended with heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills ſecured by difficult defiles. Yet ſtrong as this ſituation was, and numerous as the Auſtrians were, Frederick undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot not

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exceeding thirty-two thouſand men [2]. It is ſaid, that marechal Keith ſtrongly diſſuaded him againſt this attempt; but the king could not be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his purpoſe; and was not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the military talents of the general with whom he was about to encounter.

IT was on the eighteenth of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the king of Pruſſia began the attack of the Auſtrians at KOLIN, under count Daun. The Pruſſian infantry marched up to the heights on which the Auſtrians were poſted, and attacked their firſt line with great intrepidity. They drove them from two eminences ſecured with heavy cannon, and from two villages defended by ſeveral batteries. But, in attacking the third eminence, they were flanked by the Auſtrian cavalry; the Auſtrian grape ſhot alſo poured like hail upon the Pruſſians; and after a violent conflict, and a prodigious loſs of men, they were thrown into diſorder. Animated with the preſence of their king, the Pruſſians, however, ſoon rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge. But they were a ſecond time repulſed; capital miſtakes were made by two of the Pruſſian generals; and the orders of the king were not properly underſtood and obeyed. But prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick

[2] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 135, 136. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 18.

greatly

greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this action; and ſeven times did the Pruſſians return to the attack; but without ſucceſs. The inferiority of the Pruſſian infantry, the diſadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous ſituation of the Auſtrians, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, and numbers, joined to the ſkill and conduct of their general, all conſpired to defeat the hopes of the Pruſſians, to ſurmount their valour, and to compel them to retreat. The king himſelf, at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge. Every effort was made, but every thing proved unſucceſsful. At laſt, after expoſing his perſon in the moſt dangerous ſituations, Frederick drew off his forces from the field of battle, and retired in ſuch good order, in ſight of the enemy, as prevented a purſuit, or the loſs of his artillery and baggage [3].

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THE loſs of the Pruſſians, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, in the battle of KOLIN, was ſtated to be about fourteen thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, was computed to be more than eight thouſand. Marechal Daun had a horſe killed under him, and received two wounds in the action; but they were neither of them dangerous.

[3] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 137, 138. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

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THE Pruſſian army having retreated to Nimburg, the king left the command to the prince of Bevern, and being eſcorted by twelve or fourteen huſſars, immediately ſet out for Prague, where he arrived the next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horſeback. He gave inſtant orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and theſe orders were executed with ſo much celerity, that the tents were ſtruck, and the army on their march, before the garriſon was informed of the king's defeat. But when the news of the battle arrived at Prague, prince Charles of Lorrain ſallied out with a large body of the Auſtrians, and attacked the rear of the Pruſſians; though he was no farther ſucceſsful againſt them, than by killing about two hundred of their men. The ſiege of Prague being thus raiſed, the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with the utmoſt joy, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia [4].

AFTER the battle of Kolin, Frederick very frankly acknowledged his own imprudence, in the attack which he had made upon the Auſtrian general, when he was ſo ſtrongly poſted, and with an inferior force. In a letter written by him at this time to the earl-marſhal of Scot-

[4] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 139, 140.

land [B], brother to marechal Keith, are the following paſſages: 'The imperial grenadiers are 'an admirable corps: one hundred companies 'defended a riſing ground, which my beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned ſeven times to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to Lichtenſtein, who had the direction of it. That of Pruſſia only can diſpute it with him. I had too few infantry. All my cavalry were preſent, and idle ſpectators, excepting a bold puſh that I made with my houſehold troops, and ſome dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not ſparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a riſing

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[B] GEORGE KEITH, Earl-Marſhal of Scotland, having engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and been preſent at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was afterwards attainted in parliament. He was much reſpected for his perſonal virtues, and was made by the king of Pruſſia governor of Neufchatel. He was likewiſe employed by the Pruſſian monarch as ambaſſador to France; and, by his interceſſion, received a pardon from king George II. for the ſhare he had in the rebellion of 1715; and, in 1760, his attainder was reverſed. After his pardon had paſſed the ſeals, he repaired to London, and was preſented to the king, by whom he was graciouſly received. But he ſoon after returned again to Berlin, and continued in the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia.

'ground,

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'ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious 'artillery. Several of my regiments were re-'pulſed by their muſquetry. Henry performed 'wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: 'they are too brave.—Fortune turned her back 'on me that day. I ought to have expected it. 'She is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, 'I ought to have had more infantry.—Succeſs, 'my dear lord, often occaſions a deſtructive con-'fidence. Twenty-four battalions were not ſuf-'ficient to diſlodge ſixty thouſand men from an 'advantageous poſt. Another time we will do 'better.—What ſay you of this league, which 'has only the marquis of Brandenburgh for its 'object? The great elector would be ſurprized 'to ſee his grandſon at war with the Ruſſians, 'the Auſtrians, almoſt all Germany, and an 'hundred thouſand French auxiliaries. I know 'not whether it will be diſhonourable in me to 'ſubmit; but I am ſure that there will be no 'great glory in vanquiſhing me[5].'

BESIDES the loſs which the king of Pruſſia ſuſtained, in killed and wounded, in the battle of Kolin, he alſo loſt great numbers of his men by deſertion; and was, ſoon after, obliged to retreat towards Saxony. Having ſent his heavy artil-lery and mortars up the Elbe to Dreſden, he fixed his camp on the banks of that river at

[5] London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 385. Smollett, p. 139.

Leitmeritz,

Leitmeritz, where his main army was ſtrongly intrenched; whilſt marechal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; a free communication being kept open, by means of a bridge. Detachments were ſent, at the ſame time, to ſecure the paſſes into Saxony. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

THIS poſition of the king of Pruſſia prevented the Auſtrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe: they, therefore, moved, by ſlow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau. On the fourteenth of July, a detachment from the main Auſtrian army ſuddenly attacked the important poſt of Gabel, ſituated between Boemiſh-Leypa, and Zittau; and took it after an obſtinate defence, of thirty-ſix hours, made by the Pruſſian garriſon, under major-general Putkammer, conſiſting of four battalions, who were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Auſtrians then proceeded to Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines, and a conſiderable garriſon. The prince of Pruſſia was alſo in the neighbourhood with a body of troops; but they were too few in number to enable him to oppoſe the Auſtrians. Zittau belonged to the king of Poland as elector of Saxony; but the Auſtrians, paying no regard to the inhabitants as friends or allies, but being determined to reduce the place, before the king of Pruſſia could march to its relief,

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relief, they no ſooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with ſuch fury, that moſt of the garriſon, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, made their eſcape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines; leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Dierke, to hold it out as long as poſſible. This he accordingly did, till the whole place was almoſt deſtroyed. A furious cannonading, which began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, laſted till five in the evening. In that ſpace of time four thouſand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into the city, with ſo little intermiſſion, that it was ſoon ſet on fire in ſeveral places. In the confuſion, which the conflagration produced, the Auſtrians entered the town. The inhabitants then flattered themſelves, that they had nothing farther to fear; and that their friends, the Auſtrians, would aſſiſt them in extinguiſhing the flames, and in ſaving the place. But their expectations were miſerably diſappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who ruſhed in with the regular Auſtrian troops, made no diſtinction between the Pruſſians and the inhabitants of Zittau. Inſtead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouſes which the fire had not reached; ſo that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off, or reduced to aſhes. Upwards of ſix hundred

dred houſes, and almoſt all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-houſe, eight parſonage-houſes, eight ſchools, the town-houſe, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, preſented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely deſtroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this aſſault [c]. Many others alſo, who were maimed and wounded, were afterwards dug out of the ruins [6].

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[c] In one account it is ſaid, 'that the taking of Zittau 'was attended with many uncommon circumſtances of cruelty 'on one ſide, and diſtreſs on the other.'—'The mothers, 'wives, and children of the merchants, were killed as they 'were ſitting in their chambers and nurſeries, by the bombs 'that fell through the roofs of the houſes. Six hundred and 'twenty-three dwelling-houſes, beſides warehouſes, were 'burnt to the ground. The ſtadthouſe alſo, with all the other 'public buildings, were deſtroyed, except the cathedral, 'which was ſo much damaged, that it was every moment 'expected to fall. The number of citizens, of both ſexes, 'that were killed in this aſſault, amounts to more than four 'hundred, not reckoning thoſe that were buried under the 'ruins, or bruiſed, burnt, and otherwiſe wounded, by the 'burſting of bombs, and the falling of houſes.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 379. Another account ſays, 'Ninety perſons 'have been dug out of the ruins. Dr. Stroumelius's widow, 'with her whole family, conſiſting of fourteen perſons, and 'ſixty-four others, were found dead in their houſes.' Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 190.

[6] Smollett, p. 164, 165. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 61, 169.

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As Auguſtus William, the prince-royal of Pruſſia, commanded in the neighbourhood of Zittau, he was in ſome degree a witneſs to the deſtruction of the place, and was much affected with the diſtreſs of the inhabitants. This place was chiefly deſtroyed by the Auſtrians; but the prince is ſaid about this time to have made ſome ſtrong repreſentations to his brother upon the calamities with which the preſent war was attended; which gave the king ſo much offence, that he told the prince, 'That the air of Berlin 'would be better for him than that of the camp.' He quitted the army ſoon after [D], and retired to Berlin, where he died the following year. He is reported to have much diſapproved of the conduct of his brother at the commencement of the war, and to have remonſtrated with him upon the ſubject. Baron Bielfeld ſpeaks highly of the many excellent qualities of this prince; and Dr. Smollett ſays, that 'none was ever 'more remarkable for humanity and the ſocial 'virtues;' that 'he diſliked the violent pro-'ceedings of the king his brother;' and that 'grief, and concern for the welfare of his bro-

[D] It appears from ſome letters which paſſed between the prince and the king his brother, before the former quitted the army, that the king was greatly diſſatisfied with the military conduct of the prince; and that the prince thought himſelf treated by the king with capriciouſneſs and injuſtice.

'ther,

'ther, and for the ſteps taken by him, had no 'ſmall ſhare in his death [7].' CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

THE French army, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe, having paſſed the Rhine, that general had, early in the campaign, made himſelf maſter of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres; whilſt a detachment, from the army of marechal d'Etrees, had ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to the king of Pruſſia in Eaſt Frieſland. In the month of April, the duke of Cumberland was ſent over, from England, to command an army of obſervation, as it was ſtiled, and which was intended for the defence of Hanover. This army conſiſted of nearly forty thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians, together with a few regiments ſent by the king of Pruſſia, but which were chiefly compoſed of Saxons. With this army the duke of Cumberland attempted in vain to obſtruct the progreſs of marechal d'Etrees; and, after ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire behind the Weſer, and the French paſſed that river without oppoſition [8]. The duke continued to retreat before marechal d'Etrees, till he reached the village of Haſtenbeck. Having choſen an advantageous poſt, he there attempted to make a ſtand, on the twenty-fifth of July; but being worſted, after a vigorous reſiſtance, he was obliged to quit his

[7] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra.

[8] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V, p. 262.

ſtation.

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ſtation. He then retreated to Hamelen, where he left a garriſon, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after ſending away all his magazines, ſick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover, had been removed.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Haſtenbeck, the French ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and ſoon after the duke de Chevreuſe was detached, with two thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the capital of the electorate of Hanover. He accordingly entered that city, and aſſumed the office of governor of it, on the ninth of Auguſt. The Hanoverian garriſon was diſarmed, but left at liberty to retire where they pleaſed.

As the French were thus become maſters of Hanover, all that the king of Great Britain had dreaded concerning it had now taken place; and it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that his electorate had derived no ſecurity from his treaty with the king of Pruſſia. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had a ſubſidy from Great Britain, took part alſo with the Pruſſian monarch; but almoſt all the other German princes were united againſt him.

him. Of the nine electors of Germany, the only one who engaged on the ſide of the king of Pruſſia was the elector of Hanover; ſo little perſuaded were the generality of the German princes, that the conduct of the Pruſſian monarch had any tendency to promote the intereſts of Germany. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

CHAP. XXII.

Progress of the Ruſſian army, under marechal Apraxin.—Memel taken by the Ruſſians.—Frederick's declaration on his dominions being invaded by the Ruſſians.—Battle of Groſs Jagerſdorff.—Retreat of the Ruſſians.—The Swedes invade the Pruſſian dominions; but are ſucceſsfully oppoſed by general Lehwald.—Convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Declaration of the king of Great Britain.

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THE Ruſſian army, commanded by marechal Apraxin, which was intended to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, having been diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, had been more than ſix months delayed upon its march; but in May the Ruſſian general [E] advanced with his army, in four columns, towards the frontiers of Pruſſia. Three of theſe columns paſſed through Poland, and the fourth through

[E] If an account, which was publiſhed of marechal APRAXIN at the time, was in any degree juſt, this general was not very well adapted for expeditious marches. The account to which I refer is the following: 'The Ruſſian field-marechal Apraxin is ſo monſtrouſly fat, that he can neither walk on foot, nor ride on horſeback; nor, without great difficulty, in a coach; ſo that he is always carried in a litter, and travels only two leagues a day.' Extract of a private letter from the Hague, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 72.

Samogitia, towards Memel. The laſt column was commanded by general Fermor, and intended for the ſiege of Memel. To facilitate that enterprize, admiral Lewis, an Engliſhman of reputation in the Ruſſian ſervice, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet from Revel, with about nine thouſand men on board, in order to attack Memel on the ſea-ſide, while general Fermor did the ſame by land. They arrived before Memel at the end of the month of June; and, on the fifth of July, the place ſurrendered by capitulation[a]. This conqueſt was of great conſequence to the Ruſſians, as they could make of it a convenient place of arms, and, by means of their fleet, furniſh it with proviſions and ſtores ſufficient to ſupply their whole army, and thereby enable them to proſecute the operations of the campaign.

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BEFORE the taking of Memel, the king of Pruſſia had ordered general Lehwald, with about thirty thouſand men, to march to the frontiers of Pruſſia, and oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians. That general accordingly aſſembled his army in the month of June, and advanced to Inſterburgh, with a corps farther on towards Memel. And when the Pruſſian monarch found, that the Ruſſians were actually about to invade

[a] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany.

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his dominions, he published a declaration, in which were the following passages: 'It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious ancestors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim, to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and to cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and this happy union would be yet still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broken it by their secret machinations, and it carried things to such an height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances which he hath to allege against it, and that it was publickly known, that the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria.'

His

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'His majeſty hath not neglected to expoſe the artifices, by which the imperial court of Ruſſia hath been drawn into meaſures ſo oppoſite to the empreſs's ſentiments, and which would excite the utmoſt indignation of that great princeſs, if the truth could be placed before her, without diſguiſe. The king did more. He ſuggeſted to her imperial majeſty ſufficient means either to excuſe her taking no part in the preſent war, or to avoid, upon the juſteſt grounds, the execution of thoſe engagements, which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the empreſs of Ruſſia to extinguiſh the flames of war, without unſheathing the ſword, by purſuing the meaſures ſuggeſted by the king. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more laſting glory than can be acquired by the greateſt triumphs.

'THE king finds with regret, that all his precaution and care to maintain peace with the Ruſſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majeſty ſees all the conſiderations of friendſhip and good neighbourhood ſet aſide by the imperial court of Ruſſia, as well as the obſervance of its engagements with his majeſty. He ſees

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'that court marching its troops through the 'territories of a foreign power [F], againſt the 'inclination of that power, and contrary to the 'tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in 'his own dominions, and thus taking part in a 'war in which his enemies have involved the 'Ruſſian empire.

'IN ſuch circumſtances, the king hath no 'other part to take, but to employ the power 'which God hath entruſted to him in defending 'himſelf, protecting his ſubjects, and repelling 'every unjuſt attack. His majeſty will never 'loſe ſight of the rules, which are obſerved even 'in the midſt of war amongſt civilized nations. 'But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, 'theſe rules ſhould be violated by the troops of 'Ruſſia, if they commit in the king's territories 'diſorders and exceſſes, diſallowed by the laws 'of arms, his majeſty muſt not be blamed if he 'makes repriſals in Saxony; and if, inſtead of 'that good order and rigorous diſcipline, which 'have hitherto been obſerved by his army, 'avoiding all ſorts of violence, he finds himſelf 'forced, contrary to his inclination, to ſuffer

[F] The territories of Poland are here meant. The Poles were at this time divided into parties, but they ſeemed in general inclined to remain neuter in the preſent war. They were but little inclined to embroil themſelves with the king of Pruſſia, in ſupport of their king, when they found that he was incapable of defending his own electoral dominions."

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'the provinces and ſubjects of Saxony to be treated in the ſame manner as his own territories ſhall be treated.'—'As his majeſty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope with confidence, that the Lord of hoſts will bleſs his righteous arms, that he will diſappoint the unjuſt enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful aſſiſtance to enable him to make head againſt them [40].' CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1756.

THE whole Ruſſian army, under the command of mareſchal Apraxin, united in the month of Auguſt on the river Ruſs, and thence advanced towards the Pregel. General Lehwald, on their approach, quitted his camp at Inſterburg, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued, till he received poſitive orders to hazard a battle, though the Ruſſian army was much more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians. Having reconnoitred the poſition of the Ruſſians, who had paſſed the Pregel, and were encamped at GROSS JAGERSDORFF, near NORKITTEN, general Lehwald attacked them on the thirtieth of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning. The Ruſſians were poſted to the greateſt advantage, on and behind two almoſt inacceſſible mountains; the paſſage between which was alſo ſecured by a ſtrong column of their regular troops. On the ſummits of the hills were planted upwards of an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, on batteries

[40] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 406, 407, 408, 409.

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ſo diſpoſed, that ſcarcely a poſſibility remained of their being ſucceſsfully attacked in front. The Pruſſians, however, proceeded in regular order to force their way through the paſs between the mountains, whilſt a party of light cavalry, on the wings, attempted the eminencies, in order to ſilence the batteries, which kept continually playing. But in this deſperate attempt the Pruſſian cavalry ſucceeded ſo ill, whole ranks being put into confuſion, and tumbled down the precipices by the fire of the Ruſſians, that after ſix ſucceſſive trials, in which they overpowered but one battery of twelve guns, they were forced to retire with great loſs. The prince of Holſtein Gottorp, however, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond entrenchment, marechal Lehwald found that the attempt to carry it would be too hazardous. The Ruſſians were much better ſoldiers than he expected, and ſtood their ground with a firmneſs that ſurprized him. After an obſtinate engagement of ſeveral hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every poſſible exertion had been made, he was at length forced to retreat to his former camp, and the Ruſſians remained in their preſent ſituation [1].

[1] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 276, 277. Smollett, p. 171.

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THE loſs of the Pruſſians in the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, amounted to three thouſand men, killed, wounded, and miſſing. Among their wounded was lieutenant-general count Dohna. The Ruſſians are ſaid to have had ſix thouſand killed and wounded; and three of their generals were killed [G]. The Pruſſians, in the courſe of the action, had made themſelves maſters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but they were afterwards obliged to abandon them, together with eleven of their own, for want of carriages.

BEFORE the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, great outrages and acts of cruelty had been committed upon the inhabitants of the country, by the Ruſſian Coſſacks, and other barbarians belonging to their army. But, ſoon after that event, they were very unexpectedly delivered from theſe unwelcome viſitants; though not till they had left, in the country marks of the moſt ſavage barbarity. After remaining about a fortnight quite inactive in their camp, the Ruſſians

[G] Lord Cheſterfield, in one of his letters to his ſon, dated Sept. 23, 1757, makes the following remarks relative to the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF: 'The late action between 'the Pruſſians and Ruſſians has only thinned the human ſpe'cies, without giving either party a victory; which is plain 'by each party's claiming it. Upon my word, our ſpecies 'will pay very dear for the quarrels and ambition of a few, 'and thoſe by no means the moſt valuable part of it. If the 'many were wiſer than they are, the few muſt be quieter, and 'would, perhaps, be juſter and better than they are.' Let. 96.

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suddenly retreated out of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left several thousand of their sick and wounded behind them, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Marechal Apraxin concealed his design by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marechal Lehwald was not informed of it till it was too late to overtake any considerable number of them; though some prisoners were taken by the Prussians. The Russians made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village through which they passed. They at length entirely evacuated the Prussian dominions, excepting Memel, where they left a garrison of ten or twelve thousand men. The cause of this sudden and unexpected retreat is not certainly known; but the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made some new arrangement in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government.[12]

But to the numerous enemies of the king of Prussia about this time were added the Swedes,

[12] Smollett, p. 1.

who

who now openly took part againſt him, though the Swediſh monarch was married to Frederick's ſiſter. By the Swediſh conſtitution which then ſubſiſted, the power of the king was extremely limited, and the Swedes entered into the war againſt Pruſſia contrary to the inclinations of their prince. A plot had been diſcovered, in 1756, for rendering him deſpotic [H]; and the Swediſh ſenate, who were extremely hoſtile to the king of Pruſſia, probably ſuſpected him of favouring and promoting the deſign. The Swedes profeſſed, that they entered into the war againſt the king of Pruſſia as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had been violated by the invaſion of Saxony; and it was apprehended, that, by engaging in the war, they hoped to gain poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of Pruſſian Pomerania. At the end of the month of Auguſt, an army of ſeventeen thouſand Swedes marched againſt the Pruſſians, under the command of general Ungern Sternberg. Having paſſed the river Peen, the Swedes ſoon took Demmin, Anclam, and the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, and then advanced into the Pruſſian part of Po-

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[H] Several perſons were executed for being concerned in this plot; but afterwards, in 1757, papers were ſtuck up at the corners of the ſtreets, in different parts of Sweden, in favour of conferring abſolute power on the king; and theſe papers are ſtated to have originated with what was called the Pruſſian party in that kingdom.

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meranía, where they raiſed contributions without meeting with any obſtacle[13]. But after the Ruſſians had retreated out of the Pruſſian dominions, general Lehwald, with the army under his command, compelled the Swedes to abandon almoſt all that they had taken, and to retire under the cannon of Stralſund[14].

THE French ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the electorate of Hanover; and the duke of Cumberland found himſelf and his army ſo hemmed in by them on all ſides, that, on the eighth of September, he ſigned the convention of Cloſter-Seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannick majeſty, was diſſolved and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, though without being diſarmed, or conſidered as priſoners of war. The French were left, till a peace took place between the two ſovereigns, in full poſſeſſion of the countries they had conquered; but under the expreſs condition of abſtaining from future violences, hoſtilities being immediately to ceaſe on both ſides[15]. This convention appears to have been ſigned very reluctantly by the duke of Cumberland; but it was effected chiefly by the advice and influence

[13] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 147.

[14] Id. ibid.

[15] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 278, 279, 280.

of the regency of Hanover [I]; who were ſenſible that it was much better for their country to continue in a ſtate of neutrality, than to take an active part in the war in favour of the king of Pruſſia. CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1757.

BEFORE the convention of Cloſter-Seven was ſigned, the Pruſſian monarch was under ſome apprehenſions, that, in the preſent critical ſtate of his affairs, he ſhould be deſerted by his ally, the king of Great Britain. He is ſaid to have written an expoſtulatory letter to his Britannick majeſty upon the ſubject [K]; and, a few days after

[I] A letter of conſiderable length was publiſhed at the time in England, ſaid to be written by a member of the regency of Hanover to an Engliſh nobleman, in which it was ſtated, that his Britannick majeſty, very properly, was accuſtomed to pay a juſt regard to the counſels of his electoral miniſters; and that the public adminiſtration in Hanover was not of ſo deſpotic a nature, as it was apprehended to be in England.

[K] The letter is ſaid to have been as follows: 'I am informed, that the deſign of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aſide. Is it poſſible, that your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs in ſo ruinous a ſtate, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majeſty will conſider the ſtep that you have made me hazard. That has been the cauſe of all the misfortunes that now impend over my head. I ſhould never have renounced the alliance of France, but for your flattering promiſes. I repent not of the treaty that I have concluded with your majeſty; but do not ſhamefully abandon me to the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of

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after the convention of Cloſter-Seven, the following declaration was delivered to all the foreign miniſters reſident at the Britiſh court; and which has been conſidered as an anſwer to Frederick's expoſtulation:

'THE king having ordered an account to be given him of the repreſentations of M. Michell, in relation to ſome overtures made by his majeſty's electoral dominions concerning the checks received in Germany, hath commanded, that anſwer be given to the king of Pruſſia's miniſter, That it never was his majeſty's intention, that the ſaid overtures, made without

of Europe. I expect that your majeſty will adhere to your engagements, renewed on the 26th paſt, and that you will liſten to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.'

This letter was publiſhed by Smollett, Entick, and others; and in the London Chronicle, both in French and Engliſh. But in the Gentleman's Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 526,) it is ſaid to have been declared in the Berlin Gazette, that the letter was not authentic. If the letter be genuine, Frederick certainly aſſerted more in it than could have been properly ſupported. His treaty with George II. could not have been the cauſe of all the misfortunes in which he was involved. That treaty, indeed, probably induced him to commence the war earlier than he would otherwiſe have done; and that treaty ſeems to have been the ſole cauſe of the alliance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon. But Frederick's difficulties were in reality occaſioned by his own ambition; and the king of Great Britain, without foreſeeing the conſequences, became an inſtrument, greatly to the prejudice of his own dominions, for promoting the views of the king of Pruſſia.

the

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'the participation of the British council, should have the least influence on his majesty's conduct as king. His majesty sees, in the same light as before, the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, which threaten a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers. He considers, as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection, the cession made, by the court of Vienna, of the ports of the Netherlands to France, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; and, in such a critical situation, whatever may be the success of arms, his majesty is determined to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies; and the king of Prussia may assure himself, that the British crown will continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour.

'Whitehall, Sept. 16, 1757.

'HOLDERNESSE.'

[a] Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 417.

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The king of Pruſſia enters Luſatia, and encamps at Bautzen.—He is joined by marechal Keith.—Removes his head-quarters to Bernſtædtel, and afterwards repeatedly offers battle to the Auſtrian army; but his offer is declined.—A detachment of Auſtrians march to Berlin, and levy contributions on the inhabitants.—Rigorous exactions by the king of Pruſſia on the inhabitants of Saxony.—The city of Leipſic inveſted by the combined army of the empire, and of France.

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THE king of Pruſſia, in a ſhort time after the battle of Kolin, finding it neceſſary to evacuate Bohemia, quitted his camp at Leitmeritz on the twentieth of July, and proceeded ſucceſſively to Sulowitz, Luſechitz, Nellendorf, and Cotta. On the twenty-ſixth of that month he arrived at Pirna, near Dreſden, where he halted the next day. On the twenty-eighth, he croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, on the following day, he encamped at Bautzen. In the mean time, marechal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harraſſed in his march by the Auſtrian irregular troops, and loſt ſome waggons of proviſions and baggage.

Having

Having rested a day at Pirna, the mareschal pursued his march through Dresden, with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Prussian army, which was now here assembled, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the passes of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, some of which were very bloody [17]. CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

THE main army of the Austrians, having secured their communications with Bohemia, by making themselves masters of Zittau and Gabel, now resolved to advance farther into Lusatia, and to endeavour to cut off the king of Prussia entirely from Silesia. Accordingly the Austrian army marched from Zittau to Eckartsberg, from whence several detachments were sent on the left, to observe the motions of the Prussians; and on the right, down the Neiss, in order to secure the passes into Silesia. A small body of light

[17] Smollett, ut supra, p. 163, 164, 166.

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Auſtrian troops, commanded by colonel Jahnus, had already penetrated into that country by the way of Trautenau [18]. But as Frederick, after his junction with marechal Keith, had a conſiderable army aſſembled at Bautzen, he reſolved to open the communication with Sileſia, and to endeavour to bring the Auſtrians to an action. Having remained for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Gorlitz, he removed his head-quarters to Bernſtædtel. At that place his vanguard took the baggage of the Auſtrian general Beck; and ſome of his light troops puſhing on towards Oſtritz, where they arrived about noon, they ſurprized count Nadaſti at table. That general had juſt time to get upon his horſe, by the ſwiftneſs of which he eſcaped; but all his field-equipage, his waggons, moſt of his horſes, his attendants, and ſeventy-two other priſoners, fell into the hands of the Pruſſian huſſars [19].

THE army of the king of Pruſſia came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon-ſhot of it, on the fifteenth of Auguſt: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. Frederick formed his army over-againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between

[18] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 84, 85.

[19] Letter from a Pruſſian officer, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 238.

the armies: but it being then late, he deferred a more exact examination of it till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Auſtrians in a very advantageous camp, covered by narrow defiles and marſhes, having the Neiſſe on the right, and on the left a high hill defended by three batteries, one above another; a deep defile before their line, and their rear ſupported by hills. The king hoped to have brought the Auſtrians to deſcend into the open plain, and he left nothing undone to bring them to a battle. But as they were ſo advantageouſly poſted, and appeared determined to avoid an action, after continuing four days before them, he returned with his army to his camp at Bernſtædtel. The Auſtrian army, which thus declined an engagement, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong; which was more than double in number to that of the king of Pruſſia; who, the day he returned to Bernſtædtel, after he had retired about two thouſand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained ſo upwards of an hour. But not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp[a].

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THOUGH Frederick had not been able to bring the Auſtrians to a battle, he had ſent general

[a] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 172, 173.

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Grumkow with a body of troops to Gorlitz, of which they took poſſeſſion, and thereby opened a communication with Sileſia, which was one great object that he had in view, that his forces might be able to act in concert, if not united.[*] In the mean time, the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubiſe, amounting together to more than fifty thouſand men, had now joined, and entered into Saxony. On receiving this information, Frederick immediately ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by marechal Keith, with ſixteen battalions and forty ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp, under the prince of Bevern.

AFTER the king of Pruſſia had quitted his camp at Bernſtadtel, the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of it on the ſixth of September, and made priſoners a Pruſſian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thouſand Auſtrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeld's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were poſted on a high ground on the other ſide of the Neiſſe, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Gorlitz; and, after being repulſed ſeveral times, at laſt made themſelves maſters of

[*] Lloyd, p. 86.

the eminence. The loss in this action was considerable on both sides; and the loss of the Prussians was augmented by the death of their brave general Winterfeld, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following[a]. CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

From Dresden the king of Prussia had proceeded towards Leipsic, his army marching through the great post roads near that city, and from thence to Naumbourg. On the road between Naumbourg and Erfurth, he received information of the hostile entrance of the Swedes into his dominions, and of the death of general Winterfeldt. He seemed much affected with the loss of that general, who was an officer of very distinguished merit, and of great bravery, and for whom he had a great esteem. 'I may 'find resources,' said the king, 'against the 'multitude of my enemies; but how few men 'are to be found equal to Winterfeldt!'

Frederick arrived at Erfurth on the thirteenth of September. Of his entrance into that city, the following account was written from thence two days after: 'The king of Prussia's entry 'into this city had all the appearance of a public 'entry. A squadron of Czekeli's hussars marched 'before the king, who was on horseback, accom-

[a] Smollett, p. 175.

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panied by prince Henry, and ſeveral generals; after which came Rothenburgh's regiment of dragoons, and the march was cloſed by two ſquadrons of huſſars. The populace equally admired his Pruſſian majeſty's martial air and affable countenance; but what aſtoniſhed us moſt was, to ſee his troops in ſo good a condition, after the forced marches they had juſt made.' Two days after the king's arrival at Erfurth, he went to Gotha, where he dined [L], and

[L] Of Frederick's arrival at Gotha, the following account appeared in publications of the times: 'From Erfurth his majeſty proceeded to Gotha, from whence the Imperialiſts and French retired before him, after having diſmounted the cannon, and broken the carriages. On the 5th, the Auſtrian and other general officers had agreed to dine at court, with the duke of Saxe-Gotha; but they were diſappointed; for about noon the firſt diviſion of Pruſſian troops appeared, at about three miles diſtance. The Auſtrian picquet guards retired, at the approach of a regiment of Pruſſian huſſars, who came on full gallop; and about half an hour after two the king himſelf, attended only by prince Henry, and two regiments, one of huſſars and the other of dragoons, came up to the city gates, and ſent word by a gentleman, that he was come to dine with the duke. He was inſtantly admitted, and took the place at table where the Auſtrian generals were to have been ſeated, inſiſting that madame de Buchwald ſhould dine with him, and entertaining the company with much diſcourſe, and great cheatfulneſs.'

A few days after a rencounter happened near Gotha, between general Seidlitz, who had twelve hundred Pruſſian horſe under

and ſtaid all night, and returned the next day to his camp. Three days after an Auſtrian courier was CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

under his command, and a conſiderable part of the combined army, of which the following account was given: 'The combined army was aſſembled near Eiſenach; and, intrenched in 'the defiles of the mountains, to wait the attack of the 'Pruſſians, who ſtill continued near Erfurth. But, in the 'mean time, the commanders came to a reſolution of making 'an attempt to carry off Seidlitz's party, which was at Gotha, 'and conſiſted of about twelve hundred men. For this pur'poſe they marched all night, with almoſt all their cavalry, 'and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, amounting in the 'whole to between ſeven and eight thouſand men, and arrived 'about eight in the morning. But Seidlitz, though ſurprized, 'made a good retreat, not loſing twenty men. The princes 'Hildburghauſen and Soubiſe, and all the French generals, 'came to court (at Gotha) at eleven o'clock. The infantry 'poſſeſſed themſelves of the town, and it was expected that 'they would have remained here. But Seidlitz, perceiving a 'fog to ariſe, determined to improve it. He, therefore, re'tired behind the hills, about a league off, towards Erfurth, 'where he cauſed one hundred dragoons to diſmount, to re'preſent infantry; and divided the reſt of the troops into 'twenty-two ſmall bodies, which extended themſelves very 'far; and, by the favour of the fog, appeared like ſo many 'ſquadrons. At one in the afternoon, he attacked the French 'with his huſſars only; and news was immediately carried to 'the French generals, that the whole Pruſſian army was ad'vancing; that they lay behind the hills, and that they were 'extending towards the left, in order to ſurround them; 'whereupon they made all poſſible haſte to retreat; and, 'after having marched all night, were obliged to return the 'way they came, without having any refreſhment; ſo that 'in two hours time there was not a Frenchman left. M.

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was taken, who was carrying a major-general's commiſſion to colonel Laudohn, an Auſtrian officer of great merit. Frederick immediately ſent a trumpet with the commiſſion to the colonel, and his compliments to him on his promotion.

On the approach of the king of Pruſſia to Erfurth, the combined army of the empire, and of the French under the prince de Soubiſe, which was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of that city, retired from thence, and retreated as far as the hills of Eiſenach. Frederick followed them, with a view to give them battle; but he found them ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it was not adviſable to attack them. As the combined army declined coming to an action, the king reſolved to fall back on the Saala, as well to procure ſubſiſtence for his army with the more eaſe, as to be at hand to ſuſtain a detachment, which he propoſed ſending under prince Ferdinand, to cover Halberſtadt and the neighbouring country, againſt the incurſions of the light troops of the French. For after the convention of Cloſter-Seven, the French army, which had been under the command of the marechal d'Etrees, but

* Soidlitz purſued them, made forty priſoners, killed about the ſame number, took a great deal of baggage, and was very near taking ſeveral general officers, who had ſtaid too long in the town. This action, though of no great conſequence in itſelf, does great honour to the general. Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 123, 124.

which

which was now commanded by the duke de Richelieu, was at liberty to act againſt the king of Pruſſia. The French troops, therefore, had entered the territories of Halberſtadt and Magdeburgh, and raiſed contributions upon the inhabitants. A detachment was alſo ſent by Frederick, to be ſtationed between the Moldau and the Elbe, to cover that part of Saxony and Brandenburgh. And as the king could not bring the combined army to an action, he retired firſt to Buttelſtadt, and from thence to Naumbourg, where he arrived on the thirteenth of October[23].

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PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, obſerving that the Pruſſian forces were ſeparated at a great diſtance, and that the road into Brandenburgh was open, reſolved to ſend a conſiderable detachment to Berlin; and, to cover this expedition, another large body of troops, under general Marſchal, was ſent upon the Elſter[24]. It was general Haddick, who, with eight thouſand Auſtrians, entered Brandenburgh; and, on the ſixteenth of October, arrived at Berlin. He demanded a contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, but contented himſelf with two hundred and ten thouſand. The Auſtrians alſo pillaged part of the ſuburbs, but afterwards retreated with ſome precipitation, on receiving information of the approach of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau.

[23] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 92.
[24] Id. ibid.

That

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That general arrived at Berlin, with a large body of Pruſſian troops, the day after the Auſtrians had quitted it. The queen and royal family of Pruſſia had previouſly removed to Magdeburgh; and the moſt valuable records were ſent to the fortreſs of Spandau.

ABOUT the ſame time, as well as in other parts of the preſent year, heavy exactions were impoſed by the king of Pruſſia on the people of Saxony, and particularly on the inhabitants of Dreſden [M] and Leipſic [N]. In the latter city the

[M] Of ſome of the king of Pruſſia's exactions at Dreſden, this year, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the time:

'DRESDEN, Sept. 7. The king of Pruſſia, before he left our neighbourhood, demanded from this city an extraordinary contribution, to defray the expences of PROTECTING AND DEFENDING SAXONY.'

'The circle of Miſnia hath received orders to lay up an immenſe quantity of forage and grain, for the ſubſiſtence of the Pruſſian troops, during the enſuing winter.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 278.

'DRESDEN, Oct. 12. M. de Rozow, intendant-general of the Pruſſian army, has, in his majeſty's name, required the deputies of the ſtates, and nobility and gentry of this electorate, to pay, in eight days, the ſum of 600,000 crowns, demanded of them by way of free gift, on pain of military execution, in all places where the Pruſſians are quartered.' Ibid. p. 397.

[N] The following accounts were publiſhed at the time, relative to ſome of the impoſitions on the inhabitants of Leipſic:

'LEIPSIC,

the Pruſſian commandant had demanded, by order of the king his maſter, three hundred thouſand crowns. The inhabitants in vain repre- CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

'LEIPSIC, Oct. 11. Yeſterday thoſe families who could not furniſh their quota of the 300,000 crowns, lately demanded of this city by the king of Pruſſia, were ſubjected to a rigorous military execution. Officers followed by ſubalterns, drummers, and ſoldiers, diſperſed themſelves in their houſes, took poſſeſſion of the beſt apartments, called for victuals and drink, and took what they liked. In ſhort, they live at diſcretion. This is not all. A demand is juſt now made of 200 recruits, or an hundred crowns for each man that ſhall be wanting to complete that number. M. Joecher, one of the profeſſors of our univerſity, a venerable old man, is taken up, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle. By what means he hath incurred the diſpleaſure of the Pruſſians, we are wholly ignorant.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 397.

'LEIPSIC, Oct. 26. NAUMBOURG, where the king of Pruſſia has fixed his head-quarters, has been taxed at 100,000 crowns; and being unable to raiſe that ſum, the Pruſſians carried away with them hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment thereof.

'When the king of Pruſſia mitigated the contribution demanded of this city, (Leipſic) it was expected, that the hoſtages ſent to Magdeburgh would be releaſed; and our merchants refuſed to draw bills, as they have promiſed on London and Amſterdam, till orders ſhould be given for that purpoſe. But they have been told, that the hoſtages will not be releaſed, till advice be received that the bills are accepted. We alſo expected, that the military execution would ceaſe. But major-general Hauſſen, the governor, has continued it in ſeveral houſes in the city and ſuburbs. In ſome there are thirty ſoldiers, and in ſome in the ſuburbs ſixty, beſides ſervants and horſes.' Ibid. p. 442.

ſented,

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sented, that this was a far greater sum than it was then in their power to raise. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would himself be soon there. He accordingly arrived shortly after, attended by his life-guards. A rumour was at the same time spread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, were in that respect abated, by a declaration which was made by Frederick, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns; and hostages were given, by way of security for the payment of thirty thousand more, within a stipulated time[23]. But, after

[23] Smollett, p. 177, 178. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417, 442.

this

this, other hardships ſtill continued to be im- CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.
poſed upon the inhabitants [o]; and it appears, that even the account-books of the merchants were ſeized, and detained for ſome time, in order to aſcertain their property and credit.

As Frederick at this period underwent great fatigue, both of body and of mind, it is ſaid to have made a conſiderable alteration in his appearance. This was particularly noticed in a letter written and printed about this time, in which were the following paſſages: 'Many perſons, who ſaw the king of Pruſſia, when he paſſed lately through Leipſic, cannot expreſs how much he is altered. They ſay, he is ſo much worn away, that they ſcarcely knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at. He has not a body of iron, like Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues as he did. He is as much on horſeback as Charles was, and often lies upon the ground. Add likewiſe ſome domeſtic uneaſineſſes. The death of the

[o] In an account from Leipſic, dated the day after the king's arrival there, is the following paſſage: 'Though the military execution has ceaſed, we are not delivered from our other calamities. A new one is juſt come upon us, by the arrival of a large body of troops. Some houſes have from thirty to ſixty men quartered upon them, for whom they muſt find proviſions, fewel, and two groſchen per diem.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417.

queen

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'queen-mother gave him infinite concern [P]; 'and at preſent there is a difference between 'him and the prince of Pruſſia, which cannot 'be agreeable. They did not ſee one another 'when the king was lately at Leipſic [26].'

AFTER the king of Pruſſia quitted Leipſic, he committed the defence of that city to marechal Keith, with a garriſon of ſeven or eight thouſand men. But before this ſome detachments of Auſtrian troops had approached towards Dreſden [Q], and appeared diſpoſed to attack that city.

[P] His mother, the queen-dowager, died on the 28th of June, 1757, at the palace of Monbijou, in the ſeventy-firſt year of her age. The prince of Pruſſia died at Orangebourg, on the 12th of June, 1758, aged thirty-ſix.

[26] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 20, 21. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 456.

[Q] The approach of the Auſtrians towards Dreſden at this period, occaſioned much diſtreſs to the inhabitants, as appears from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'DRESDEN, Sept. 14, 1757. Major-general Schmettau and 'colonel Finck are very aſſiduous in putting this place into a 'good poſture of defence. Cannon have been placed on the 'terraces of count Bruhl's gardens, which adjoin to the ram-'parts, in order to hinder any rafts or barges from coming 'down the river. With the ſame view a large boom is laid 'across it. The walls of all the gardens without the New 'Town have been thrown down, and thoſe who had country-'houſes there have been deſired to remove their moſt valuable 'effects, becauſe the houſes are to be razed, that they may 'not ſerve to cover the Auſtrians in caſe of a ſiege. The 'troops in garriſon here amount to more than 16,000 men, 'by the great number of ſick and wounded ſoldiers that are 'now

city. They did not, however, make any regular attempt upon it; but the combined army of the empire, and of France, completely inveſted Leipſic [R]; and ſent a ſummons to marechal Keith

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'now able to do duty.' A great number, both of the garriſon, and of the inhabitants, are, however, ill of fevers, pleuriſies, and dyſenteries, which for a month paſt have been very riſe and very fatal. That the ſick belonging to the garriſon may be better accommodated, three hundred of them have been removed to the ſpacious apartments in count Bruhl's palace, which is at preſent unoccupied.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 301.

[R]. Of the damage which was done to the city of Leipſic at this period, and the hardſhips ſuffered by the inhabitants, ſome idea may be formed from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'LEIPSIC, Oct. 26, 1757. Marechal Keith, who has been to reconnoitre the ſituation of the combined army, has been buſy theſe three days paſt, in preparing to defend this city till the laſt extremity. Some of the gates are to be walled up, and deep ditches are dug at proper diſtances without the walls, in order to render the ground impracticable for the encampment of the enemy's troops. Diſpoſitions of the like nature are making in all the avenues of this city. The fine gardens round the town, which rivalled thoſe of Holland, are ſacrificed on this occaſion. All is deſtroyed, pulled down, or overturned; and the fruit of many years expence and culture ruined in a moment. The price of proviſions, particularly bread, which was high before, is riſen. Every thing is dear in proportion.'—'The proviſions that have been laid up, for ſome months paſt, are viſibly diminiſhed by the prodigious conſumption made by a numerous garriſon, as well as by the inhabitants; though indeed the latter are conſiderably leſſened, many having retired to other places. The houſes in which the troops are quartered,

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Keith to ſurrender the city. The marechal replied, 'That his Pruſſian majeſty having 'charged him to defend the city to the laſt 'extremity, he ſhould obey his orders.' He alſo ſent for the principal magiſtrates of Leipſic, and addreſſed them in the following terms: 'I 'ſent for you, gentlemen, to inform you, that 'the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen has ſent 'me a ſummons to deliver up the city to him; 'to which I am not at all diſpoſed. He threatens, 'in caſe of refuſal, to come to extremities. He 'will then ſet me an example to act in the ſame 'manner; and to him you muſt impute all the 'calamities to which your city will be expoſed. 'If you would prevent them, I would adviſe 'you to go to him, and engage him to ſpare the 'city, out of regard to you and the inhabitants; 'becauſe on the firſt advice I receive, that the 'troops of the empire and of France are ad-'vancing to attack me, I ſhall begin to ſet fire 'to the ſuburbs; and if that be not ſufficient to 'oblige the enemy to deſiſt from their enter-'prize, I will go farther, and not ſpare even the 'city itſelf. I ſhall be extremely ſorry to pro-'ceed to that length. Neceſſity alone can force 'me to it.'

'quartered, and none are exempted from that burden, are full 'to the garrets; and the troops occupy the beſt apartments, 'thoſe to the ſtreets, that the officers and ſoldiers may the 'more readily receive their orders.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 473.

IN

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In conſequence of this declaration of marechal Keith, a deputation of the magiſtrates of Leipſic was ſent to the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen; who told them, 'That he would ſpare the electorate of Saxony as much as he poſſibly could, and particularly the city of Leipſic, and that he would not bombard it. But that he nevertheleſs hoped, to force the Pruſſian garriſon to abandon it, or to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.' It was ſaid, that the prince alſo declared, that if the Pruſſians executed their threat of burning the ſuburbs, or the city of Leipſic, he would take revenge on the towns of Brandenburgh, and that Berlin or Potſdam ſhould pay for Leipſic.

CHAP. XXIV.

Critical ſtate of the affairs of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period.—He is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correſpond with him.—Obtains a ſignal victory over the combined army of the empire, and of France, at Roſbach.—The Hanoverians reſume their arms, notwithſtanding the convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Battle of Breſlaw.—Battle of Liſſa.—End of the campaign of 1757.

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THE affairs of the king of Pruſſia were at this period in a ſituation extremely critical. The Ruſſians were yet in poſſeſſion of Memel; and the Auſtrians had even entered his capital, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Beſides what he had farther to apprehend from the Ruſſians and the Swedes, the French army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, which conſiſted of eighty battalions, and one hundred ſquadrons, had entered Halberſtadt, and levied contributions on his ſubjects in that province. The combined army of the empire, and of France, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, were in Saxony, and but at a ſmall diſtance from his own dominions. A great army of Auſtrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, aſſiſted by marechal Daun and general Nadaſti,

daſti, had entered Sileſia, in ſpite of the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conqueſt of that province! Surrounded by ſo many enemies, Voltaire tells us, that the king had formed a deſign to kill himſelf[27]; and he has given part of a poetical epiſtle, written by Frederick about this time to the marquis D'Argens, in which he intimated ſuch a deſign[s]. Nor-

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[27] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 156.

[s] In this epiſtle the king expreſſes himſelf as a materialiſt, ſpeaks with approbation of the ſyſtem of Epicurus, and declares his diſbelief of the doctrine of a future ſtate. Similar ſentiments are avowed in ſome of his other pieces; and particularly in his *Epiſtle to marechal Keith*, written in imitation of the third book of Lucretius, *ſur les vaines terreurs de la mort, et les frayeures d'une autre vie*, publiſhed in the firſt volume of the OEUVRES MELEES, DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI, p. 221—232. In this poem, which is one of the king's longeſt pieces, and the great deſign of which is to prove, that man is a being wholly material, and that his exiſtence terminates with his death, are the following lines;

De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le paſſé:
Comme avant que je fuſſe il n'avait point penſé,
De même aprés ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
Par la corruption ſeront anéanties,
Par un même deſtin il ne penſera plus:
Non, rien n'eſt plus certain, ſoyons-en convaincus,
Dès que nous finiſſons, notre ame eſt éclipsée.

It was to this epiſtle to marechal Keith, and to the zeal which the king of Pruſſia manifeſted, in oppoſing the immortality of the ſoul, and the doctrine of a future ſtate of retribution, that Mr. Maſon particularly refers in the following lines, in his elegant elegy on the death of lady Coventry:

Think

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NOTWITHSTANDING the manner in which a ſeparation had taken place between Frederick and Voltaire, they were afterwards, at leaſt apparently,

'Think not the Muſe, whoſe ſober voice ye hear,
'Contracts with bigot frown her ſullen brow;
'Caſts round Religion's orb the miſts of fear,
'Or ſhades with horrors, what with ſmiles ſhould glow.

'No; ſhe would warm you with ſeraphic fire,
'Heirs as ye are of heaven's eternal day;
'Would bid you boldly to that heav'n aſpire,
'Not ſink and ſlumber in your cells of clay.

'Know, ye were form'd to range yon azure field,
'In yon æthereal founts of bliſs to lave;
'Force then, ſecure in Faith's protecting ſhield,
'The ſting from death, the victʼry from the grave.

'Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,
'Your hopes, your fears, in doubt, in dulneſs ſteep:
'Go ſoothe your ſouls in ſickneſs, grief, or pain,
'With the ſad ſolace of eternal ſleep.

'Yet will I praiſe you, triflers as ye are,
'More than thoſe preachers of your fav'rite creed,
'Who proudly ſwell the brazen throat of war,
'Who form the phalanx, bid the battle bleed;

'Nor wiſh for more: who conquer, but to die,
'Hear, Folly, hear; and triumph in the tale:
'Like you, they reaſon; not, like you, enjoy
'The breeze of bliſs, that fills your ſilken ſail.

'On pleaſure's glitt'ring ſtream ye gayly ſteer
'Your little courſe to cold oblivion's ſhore:
'They dare the ſtorm, and, through th' inclement year,
'Stem the rough ſurge, and brave the torrent's roar.

'Is

rently, in a great degree reconciled; and this seems to have been chiefly effected by the mediation

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'Is it for glory? that juſt Fate denies.
'Long muſt the warrior moulder in his ſhroud,
'Ere from her trump the heav'n-breath'd accents riſe,
'That lift the Hero from the fighting crowd,

'Is it his graſp of empire to extend?
'To curb the fury of inſulting foes?
'Ambition, ceaſe: the idle conteſt end:
'Tis but a kingdom thou canſt win or loſe.

'And why muſt murder'd myriads loſe their all,
'(If life be all) why deſolation lour,
'With famiſh'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
'That thou may'ſt flame the meteor of an hour;

'Go, wiſer ye, that flutter life away,
'Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high;
'Weave the light dance, with feſtive freedom gay,
'And live your moment, ſince the next ye die.

'Yet know, vain Sceptics, know, th' Almighty mind,
'Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
'Bade his free ſoul, by earth nor time confin'd,
'To heav'n, to immortality aſpire.

'Nor ſhall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,
'By vain philoſophy be e'er deſtroy'd.'——

The ideas of the king of Pruſſia, concerning the immortality of the ſoul, appear to have been different at different periods of his life. In a letter written by him to M. Suhm, dated June 6, 1736, is the following paſſage; 'The thought 'alone of your death, my dear Suhm, affords to me an argu'ment in proof of the immortality of the ſoul. For is it 'poſſible, that the being by which you are actuated; the 'ſpirit which acts in you with ſo much clearneſs, brightneſs

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ation of the margravine of Bareith, the king's ſiſter, who appears to have been a very amiable and

' and intelligence; which is ſo different from matter and from ' body; that fine ſoul, endowed with ſo many ſolid virtues, ' and agreeable qualities; that noble part of yourſelf which ' renders you the delight of our ſociety; is it poſſible, that ' this ſhould not be immortal? No, certainly! I would main- ' tain it, even in a ſolemn argument, if it were neceſſary, that ' if the greateſt part of the world were periſhable, and to be ' annihilated, you, VOLTAIRE, BOILEAU, NEWTON, WOL- ' FIUS, and ſome other geniuſſes of this order, muſt be im- ' mortal.' Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tome I. p. 31.

In three of Voltaire's letters to the king, after their correſpondence was renewed, he ſtrongly diſſuaded him from any attempt againſt his own life, in caſe he ſhould meet with any adverſe turn in his affairs. In a letter written in October, 1757, Voltaire ſays, ' Cato and Otho, whoſe deaths your ' majeſty ſo much approves, had ſcarcely any choice, except ' of ſervitude or of death. Otho even was not certain he ' might be ſuffered to live. He did but, by voluntary death, ' prevent that which might have been inflicted. Our man- ' ners, and your ſituation, are far from requiring you ſhould ' take any ſuch reſolution. In a word, it is highly neceſſary ' you ſhould live. You cannot but know how dear your life ' is to a numerous family, and to all who have the honour to ' approach you. The affairs of Europe, you are convinced, ' never can long remain in the ſame ſtate; and that it is the ' duty of a man like you to wait the courſe of events.

' I will be bold enough to ſay more. Believe me, were ' your courage to induce you heroically to end your exiſtence, ' the act would not be applauded. Your very partizans ' would condemn you, and your enemies would triumph. ' Remember too what the outrages would be, which the ' fanatic nation of bigots would commit on your memory.

' Such

and accomplished princess, and who was a great admirer of Voltaire, and frequently corresponded with him. In 1755, Frederick sent to Voltaire an opera, which he had made from that writer's tragedy of Merope; and this opera, Voltaire says, was, without doubt, the worst thing that the king ever wrote[28]. From that time they continued again to correspond together [T]; and Frede-

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'Such would be all the renown you would acquire by voluntary death. You ought not to afford those cowardly enemies of the human race the pleasure of insulting a name so respectable.' Posthumous Works of Frederick II. vol. VII. p. 413, 414.

In another letter, written in the same month, he urges arguments to the same purpose; and in a letter dated Nov. 13, in the same year, Voltaire says, 'I will allow, that a momentary existence in scenes of affliction, and between two eternities which engulph us, is a mere trifle: but to bear the burthen of life is well worthy of your great fortitude; and to support adversity like a hero is to be truly a king.' Ibid. p. 415, 422.

[28] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 145, 146.

[T] It appears, that, after the renewal of their correspondence, Voltaire sometimes took liberties with Frederick with which he was offended. In a letter, dated June 10, 1759, the king says, 'Are you in your senses? It is time, at the age of seventy, that you should learn the style in which it becomes you to write to me. It is time you should comprehend, that though there are liberties in which men of letters and of wit are indulged, there are also intolerable impertinencies. Be at length a philosopher; that is to say rational. May heaven, which has endowed you with so much wit, endow you with an equal portion of judgment!

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Frederick ſent to Voltaire a poetical epiſtle, dated Aug. 9, 1757, in which are the following lines:

Croyez

'Should that ever happen, you would be the firſt man of the 'age, and perhaps the firſt the world ever ſaw.' Poſthumous Works, vol. VII. p. 473, 474.

In another letter, dated July 18, 1759, Frederick ſays, 'I 'well know that I idolized you, while I neither ſuppoſed you 'artful nor malignant; but you have played me tricks of ſo 'many kinds—Let us drop the ſubject. I have pardoned 'you all, with a Chriſtian heart. You certainly have done 'me more good than harm. Your works give me the more 'pleaſure, becauſe I am callous to your ſcratches. Had you 'no defects, you would too much humble the human race; 'and the whole world would with reaſon be jealous, and en-'vious of your advantages.' Ibid. p. 485.

In a letter of Voltaire to the king, dated April 21, 1760, is the following paſſage: 'You have done me harm enough. 'You have for ever embroiled me with the king of France. 'You have occaſioned the loſs of my places and penſions. 'You have ill treated me at Franckfort; and, with me, an 'innocent woman, a reſpectable woman, who was dragged 'through the ſtreets, and thrown into priſon: and now, 'while honouring me with your letters, you poiſon the ſweet-'neſs of this conſolation by the bitterneſs of reproach. Is 'it poſſible that you ſhould treat me thus! I who have three 'years ſucceſſively, though ineffectually, been endeavouring 'to ſerve you, from no other motive but that of acting in 'conformity to my feelings.'

'The greateſt miſchief, which your works have done, is 'the ſlander to which they have given birth, among the 'numerous enemies of philoſophy in Europe. "Philoſo-"phers," ſay they, "can neither live in peace, nor live "together. Here have we a king who does not believe in

"Jeſus

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Croyez que ſi j'etois, VOLTAIRE,
Particulier aujourdhui
Me contentant du neceſſaire,
Je verrois envoler la Fortune legere,
Et m' en mocquerois comme lui.—
Mais notre etat nous fait loi,
Il nous oblige, il nous engage
A meſurer notre courage,
Sur ce qu' exige notre emploi.
VOLTAIRE *dans ſons hermitage,*
Dans un païs dont l'heritage
Eſt ſon antique bonne foi,
Peut s' addonner en paix à la vertu du ſage
Dont Platon nous marque la loi.
Pour moi menacé du naufrage,
Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
Penſer, vivre, et mourir en Roi.

'VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
'In private life's calm ſtation plac'd,
'Let Heaven for nature's wants allow,
'With cold indifference would I view
'Changing Fortune's winged haſte,
'And laugh at her caprice, like you.'—
'But from our ſtations we derive
'Unerring precepts how to live,

"Jeſus Chriſt: he invites another unbeliever to his court, "whom he ill treats. There is no charity among theſe pre- "tended philoſophers; and God makes them the inſtrument "of each other's puniſhment." Ibid. p. 509, 510.

'And

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'And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
'By which is meaſur'd human worth.
'VOLTAIRE, within his private cell
'In realms where antient honeſty
'Is patrimonial property,
'And ſacred Freedom loves to dwell,
'May give up all *his* peaceful mind,
'Guided by Plato's deathleſs page,
'In ſilent ſolitude reſign'd
'To the mild virtues of a Sage;
'But I, 'gainſt whom wild whirlwinds wage
'Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
'Muſt be, to face the tempeſt's rage,
'In thought, in life, in death a king [u].'

BUT it is neceſſary, that I ſhould quit Frederick's poetry, and return to his military tranſactions. The poetry, which he compoſed at this period, affords, however, ſufficient evidence, that he poſſeſſed great tranquility of mind, in ſituations of extreme danger and difficulty, and that even the tumults of war could not wholly withdraw his attention from the purſuits of literature [x].

THE

[u] The whole of the above poetical epiſtle is publiſhed, in the original French, in Dodſley's Collection of Poems, vol. VI. p. 281, 282. edit. 1763, together with an Engliſh tranſlation by John Gilbert Cooper, Eſq.

[x] The Abbe Denina obſerves, that 'During the war, 'Frederick had no other amuſements than thoſe of reading 'and

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THE king of Pruſſia now thought, that the preſent ſtate of his affairs rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that he ſhould endeavour, at all events, to bring to an action the combined army of the empire, and of France. With this view he aſſembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Leipſic. On the thirty-firſt of October, the Pruſſian army began their march, in order to attack the enemy in their quarters. But, on the firſt of November, having received advice, that the French and Imperialiſts were retiring on all ſides, Frederick marched with the vanguard of his army to Weiſſenfels. That city, which was defended by Bavarians, and troops of the circles, was immediately attacked and forced. The Pruſſians made three hundred priſoners; but the enemy, to cover their retreat, burnt the bridge on the Saala. It then became manifeſt, that the combined army intended to diſpute with the Pruſſians the paſſage of that river. The troops of the empire encamped on the oppoſite ſide of it, over-againſt Weiſſenfels; and poſted themſelves behind encloſures of vineyards, and in

[f] and of ſtudy.' He ſhould have added, muſic. He alſo ſays, that the king read, even in the field, the works of Boſſuet, of Bourdaloue, and of Maſſilon; that he imitated their different ſtiles, and even compoſed funeral and other ſermons. He adds, that he wrote a ſermon on the general judgment, becauſe, though he did not believe the doctrine, he thought it a fine ſubject.' Eſſai ſur la Vie et le Regne de Frederick II. p. 232.

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huts, in order to hinder the Pruſſians from repairing the bridge that had been burnt down. They drew a line along the left bank of the river; and marechal Keith, who advanced with the main body of the Pruſſian army to Merſebourgh, found that fourteen French battalions had burnt the bridge at that place, and taken poſſeſſion of the town, at the ſame time that a French detachment burnt the bridge on the Saala, near Halle. Marechal Keith marched with a detachment to Halle, and repaired the bridge there; which forced the combined troops to evacuate all the poſts they had on that river, and to retire to Michele. The Pruſſians ſoon repaired the bridges, and croſſed the river at Halle, Merſebourg, and Weiſſenfels. The three columns of the Pruſſian army joined the ſame day at the village of ROSBACH[39]. The French and Imperialiſts, who had abandoned the deſign of defending the banks of the Saala, quitted Merſebourg, and encamped in the neighbourhood.

THE combined army, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, amounted to more than fifty thouſand men. The army of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed twenty-two thouſand. On his arrival at ROSBACH, on the third of November, he went to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy; and

[39] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 452, 453.

finding

finding that it might be attacked on the right, he determined to commence an action the next day. Accordingly he made preparations for that purpose early in the morning; but when the Prussian cavalry arrived at the eminences, from whence the enemy had been reconnoitred the day before, it was found that they had changed the position of their camp. It not only faced the Prussian army, but was covered in front by a large hollow way. Its right was upon an eminence in a wood, fortified with three redoubts, and barricades of trees. As the combined troops were thus posted, the king of Prussia thought proper to defer the attack; his infantry encamped; and his cavalry also retired into the camp. The enemy, finding that they were not going to be attacked, sent out of their camp some detachments, and made some discharges of cannon upon the Prussian horse, but with little effect. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE commanders of the combined army now imagined, that the Prussian monarch supposed his own troops to be too much inferior in number to theirs, to render it prudent for him to hazard an action. Elated with this idea, they resolved to attack him the next morning, and thereby finish the campaign; the fatigues of which their troops appeared to be no longer either able or willing to endure[30]. Accordingly

[30] Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 95.

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about nine in the morning, on the fifth of November, the Pruſſians received intelligence, that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard the drums beating the march; and, as the two armies were near to each other, they plainly perceived from their camp, that the Auſtrian and Imperial infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds over-againſt them, was filing off towards their right. The king, however, could not yet form any certain judgment of their real deſign; and he obſerved, that their ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards the left, directing its march all along to the riſing grounds that ſurrounded the whole Pruſſian camp, and which lay in a bottom between the villages of Bederow and ROSBACH. Their cavalry were ſoon after ſeen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though ſome of them ſtill remained where they were, whilſt the reſt marched back[31]. About two in the afternoon, the doubts of the king of Pruſſia were cleared up. It then appeared, that the combined army intended to attack him, and that their diſpoſitions were made with a view to ſurround the Pruſſian troops, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear.

[31] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the Lond. Gazette.

A body

A body of reſerve was poſted over againſt Bedcrow, to fall upon the routed Pruſſian troops, in caſe they ſhould be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Merſebourg, the only retreat which would then have been left them. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

As Frederick now underſtood what were the intentions of the generals of the combined army, he reſolved to anticipate them, and immediately took the neceſſary ſteps for proceeding to an action. But before the battle commenced, he is ſaid to have addreſſed to his troops the following ſpeech:

'My dear friends,

'The hour is come, in which all that is, and all that ought to be dear to us, depends upon the ſwords which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to ſay but little; nor is there occaſion to ſay much. You know, that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that I have not ſhared with you hitherto; and you now ſee me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I aſk is, the ſame pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a teſtimony of my own gratitude, that from this hour, till you go into winter quarters, your pay ſhall be doubled. Acquit yourſelves like

men,

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'men, and put your confidence in God[32].' This ſpeech is repreſented to have produced a great effect, and to have been received with loud acclamations.

THE king of Pruſſia obſerved, that the combined troops had paſſed his flank, and continued marching towards Merſebourg. He, therefore, ordered his cavalry and artillery to march on the left, behind the hills, and to occupy that near Lunſtadt and Reichertſwerben, while the infantry followed with the utmoſt expedition. The generals of the combined army, ſeeing the Pruſſians quit their camp with an appearance of precipitation, ſuppoſed that they were retiring: which appeared the more probable, as they could not diſcover any thing of the march, which was concealed by the hills. Anxious leſt the Pruſſians ſhould eſcape, and they loſe the fruits of their fine diſpoſitions, the French and Imperial generals advanced in great haſte with their cavalry, followed, at a conſiderable diſtance, by their infantry, hoping to overtake the Pruſſian rear-guard; and, by attacking it with vigour, either to deſtroy it, or to force the Pruſſians to a general action. Being arrived near Reichertſwerben, ſome of the Pruſſian horſe appeared on the heights behind the village. The combined

[32] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 22. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 457, 458. Vie de Frederic II. tome II. p. 49, 50. edit. Straſbourg, 12mo. 1788.

troops

troops continued, however, to advance, thinking that ſome of the Pruſſian cavalry were only poſted there to gain time, and to cover the retreat. But this illuſion ſoon vaniſhed. All the Pruſſian horſe were then forming, under the protection of ſome heavy artillery, poſted on the hill. As ſoon as they were formed, Frederick immediately ordered his troops to attack thoſe of the enemy. This they executed with ſuch promptitude and vigour, that they broke them, and drove them back in confuſion to the village of Buſendorff. There they attempted to rally; but the Pruſſians renewed their attack, without giving them time to execute it, broke them again, and ſo effectually, that they quitted the field [11]. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

In the mean time, the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry; but the king of Pruſſia, who had as yet ſix or eight battalions only come up, ordered them inſtantly to advance, and attack the enemy, while they were occupied in forming the line. This was immediately executed; and, being ſupported by the cavalry and artillery, the Pruſſians eaſily broke thoſe few troops which had formed at the head of the columns, and drove them back in confuſion. The prince de Soubiſe did not, however, give up the affair as loſt: the reſerve, conſiſting of five regiments of cavalry, was ordered

[11] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 96.

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to advance and ſuſtain the infantry, in order to form the line, if poſſible. But theſe were inſtantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field: upon which the combined infantry, unſupported by its own cavalry, taken in flank by that of the Pruſſians, and expoſed to a heavy fire of the artillery and ſmall arms, were unable to keep their ground, and much leſs to form a line forwards. They, therefore, attempted once more to form it behind, between the village of Buſendorff and the Luftſchiff, under the protection of ſome French cavalry. But theſe being overpowered, and forced to retire, after a vigorous conteſt, the infantry were likewiſe obliged to quit the field with precipitation [34].

GENERAL Lloyd remarks, that though the king of Pruſſia obſerved the enemy in motion all the morning, he waited with great coolneſs till he diſcovered what their intentions were, and then inſtantly made his diſpoſitions. "His marching behind the hill," the general ſays, "was attended with many great advantages. That appearance of a flight elated the ſpirits of the enemy, ſo as to make them neglect the neceſſary precautions. They haſtened ſo much, that their army was thrown into ſome diſorder while in march; and they were ſo perfectly deceived, that they found themſelves, all at once, with the head of their columns, under

[34] Ibid. p. 97.

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the fire of the enemy's line; and so near, that they could not form their troops. The king saw this favourable moment, and ordered his cavalry to attack directly; and, though scarcely any of his infantry was come up, he ordered those few battalions to advance, before the enemy could make any disposition. One inch of the ground, or one instant of time lost, would have given the enemy time and room to form their line. But the king's dispositions were so exact, and so well calculated, that neither happened; and he was most deservedly crowned with victory [33].

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THE action did not last more than an hour and a half; at five o'clock in the afternoon the victory was decided; the cannonading ceased; and the French and Imperialists fled on all sides [Y]. They were pursued by the Prussians, as long as there was any light by which they could be distinguished; so that night alone was said to have been the preservation of that army, which had been so formidable in the morning. Early on the following morning, the king of

[33] History of the War in Germany, ut supra, p. 105.

[Y] Voltaire says, 'The battle of ROSBACH will be long 'celebrated. Thirty thousand French, and twenty thousand 'Imperialists, were seen flying, shamefully and precipitately, 'before five battalions, and some squadrons. The defeats of 'AGINCOURT, of CRESSY, and of POICTIERS, were not 'more humiliating.' Memoires de Voltaire, p. 166.

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Prussia set out to pursue them, with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The French and Imperialists, who marched all night [z], had passed the Unstrut at Freyburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, but which was speedily effected. The Prussian cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there, and the king, therefore, thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages; but his hussars

[z] In a letter written by an officer of the army of the empire, who was present at the battle of ROSBACH, and whose letter is dated two days after the action, is the following passage: 'We have lost all our baggage and artillery, and 'at least ten thousand men. We marched the whole night, 'and passing the river at Freyburgh, arrived at Eckersberg at 'six o'clock in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon 'the field-marechal (the prince of Hildburghausen) and prince 'George (of D'Armstadt) joined us. They had hardly sat 'down to dinner, but we perceived the enemy at our heels, 'who cannonaded us briskly; and as our army was not got 'together, nothing was left for us but to retreat. Having 'again marched all night, we arrived at last at Erforth, where 'we now are, in want of every thing, though we are rather 'better off than before. It is now eight days since our men 'have had bread: they have lived upon turnips and radishes, 'which they dug out of the earth.' Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 462.

made

made themſelves maſters of three hundred waggons of the enemy, laden with baggage [36].

IN the battle of ROSBACH, the king of Pruſſia gained a moſt ſplendid victory over an army that was much more than double in number to that of his own, and with very little loſs. Not more than three hundred of the Pruſſians are ſaid to have been killed and wounded [A]; while the loſs of the French and Imperialiſts, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than ten thouſand. Eight French generals, ſeveral German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks, were taken by the Pruſſians, together with ſeventy-two pieces of cannon, fifteen ſtandards, and other military trophies. Three hundred waggons, loaden with wounded ſoldiers of the combined army, were ſent, with moſt of the other priſoners, to Leipſic.

[36] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

[A] Voltaire has exhibited a remarkable inſtance of that inaccuracy reſpecting matters of fact, which not unfrequently occurs in his writings, in the account which he has given in his Memoirs, p. 265, of the battle of ROSBACH. He ſays, that he believes prince Henry to have been the only Pruſſian who was hurt on that day. Prince Henry was wounded, as were alſo the generals Seidlitz and Meinecke. Colonel Prigniz was killed. The firſt account of the battle of ROSBACH, publiſhed in the London Gazette, ſtated the loſs of the Pruſſians at about five hundred killed and wounded; but, according to later accounts, the number did not amount to more than three hundred.

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General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglio, died of his wounds at Merſebourg, the day after the action. After the battle, Frederick viſited moſt of the wounded French officers; and told them, as a reaſon for his doing this, that 'he 'could not yet accuſtom himſelf to conſider the 'French as his enemies.' In the evening of the day after which the battle was fought, the king invited the French general officers, and other officers of diſtinction who were taken priſoners, to ſup with him. But he made an apology for his entertainment, as not ſufficiently magnificent for ſuch reſpectable gueſts. He would have been glad, he told them, to have treated them in a more ſplendid manner; 'but really, gen-'tlemen,' ſaid he, 'I did not expect you ſo 'ſoon, nor in ſuch large numbers.'

Soon after the victory obtained by the king of Pruſſia at Roſbach, the Hanoverian troops, who had been diſqualified for taking any active part in the war by the convention of Cloſter-Seven, diſcovered a diſpoſition to reſume their arms. Complaints were made, that the duke de Richelieu had oppreſſed the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover; that the conditions of the convention of Cloſter-Seven had been violated; and that the convention itſelf had not been ratified by the court of France. It was required by that court, that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage to deſiſt from all ſervice againſt

France

France and her allies, during the preſent war, and be diſarmed on their return to their own country. This, the French miniſtry affirmed, was the manifeſt deſign of the convention of Cloſter-Seven; but this was denied by the court of London, who maintained, that the convention was only a proviſional armiſtice, intended to pave the way for a negociation, that might terminate in a general peace; and that it was never intended that the Hanoverian troops ſhould lay down their arms. It was likewiſe ſtated, on behalf of the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, that the conduct of the French in that electorate had freed his majeſty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention; that in the midſt of the armiſtice hoſtilities had been committed; that the priſoners made by the French before the convention had not been reſtored, according to an expreſs article ſtipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners; that the baillifs of thoſe diſtricts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been ſummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue; and that the French had appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe magazines, which, by expreſs agreement, were

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deſtined for the uſe of the electoral troops; and had ſeized the houſes, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to conſider that place as free and neutral.

MEMORIALS were publiſhed in vindication of the conduct of the courts both of France and of Great Britain: but in this ſtate of things the Hanoverians reſumed their arms, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who had been recommended to that appointment by the king of Pruſſia. A letter was written to that prince by the duke de Richelieu, in which he obſerved, that although for ſome days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themſelves into a body, he could not imagine, that the object of theſe movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been eſtabliſhed between the duke of Cumberland and himſelf; that he was blinded ſo far by his confidence in the good faith of the king of England, elector of Hanover, and of his ſon, who had ſigned the convention, as to believe that the troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe, than to be diſtributed into the winter-quarters, which had been aſſigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at laſt opened, by the repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe thoſe articles which ought

to

to have been ſacred and inviolable. The duke added, 'The king my maſter having been informed of theſe dangerous movements, and of the breach of faith in the Hanoverians, is ſtill deſirous of giving freſh proofs of his moderation, and of his wiſh to ſpare the effuſion of blood. It is with this view that I have the honour to declare to your ſerene highneſs, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that I perſiſt in my reſolution of fulfilling exactly all the articles of the convention, provided the Hanoverian army on its part does the ſame. But I cannot conceal from your ſerene highneſs, that if, contrary to all expectation, it ſhould take any equivocal ſtep, and ſtill more if it ſhould commit any act of hoſtility, I ſhall then puſh matters to the laſt extremity, looking on myſelf as authorized to do ſo by the laws of war. I will reduce all the palaces, royal houſes, and gardens to aſhes. I will ſack all the towns and villages, without ſparing the ſmalleſt hut. In ſhort, this country ſhall experience all the horrors of war. I recommend it to your ſerene highneſs to reflect upon all this, and not reduce me to the neceſſity of taking ſteps ſo contrary to the natural humanity of the French nation, and to my own perſonal character.' This letter was ſeconded by the count de Lynar, the Daniſh ambaſſador, who, in the name of his maſter, had acted as

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mediator

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mediator in concluding the convention of Cloſter-Seven. A very laconic anſwer was returned by prince Ferdinand, the purport of which was, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his anſwer in perſon, at the head of his army.

THE Hanoverian army being now aſſembled at Stade, under the command of prince Ferdinand, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to drive the French out of the electorate of Hanover. Two thouſand French troops were attacked in the bailiwick of Ebſtorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after, another action happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zaſtrow, remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages encouraged the Hanoverians, and put them in poſſeſſion of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the French were obliged to abandon. But the operations of prince Ferdinand were ſomewhat retarded by the reſolution of the French officer who commanded the garriſon of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops had made themſelves maſters of that town, he retired into the caſtle, which he held out againſt a conſiderable detachment of the allied army, by which it was inveſted. But the fortifications being at length entirely demoliſhed, he ſurrendered upon capitulation. Prince Ferdinand afterwards proceeded towards

towards Zell, where the duke de Richelieu himſelf had taken poſt; but, at the approach of the Hanoverians, he called in his advanced parties, abandoned ſeveral magazines, and burnt all the farm-houſes and buildings belonging to the ſheep-walks of his Britannick majeſty. He alſo reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houſes, and even ſet fire to the orphan-hoſpital, in which a great number of helpleſs children are ſaid to have periſhed: but this circumſtance was attributed by the French to accident. When the Hanoverians had advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops poſted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the paſſes of which were ſtrongly guarded; and his troops were alſo expoſed to great hardſhips from the ſeverity of the weather. He, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed ſeveral ſmall enterprizes by detachments; while the duke de Richelieu fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The emperor of Germany, and his conſort the empreſs-queen, having received

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ceived information of the operations of the Hanoverian troops, which they conſidered as infractions of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, ſent an intimation to the baron de Steinberg, miniſter from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he ſhould no more appear at court, nor confer with their miniſters, and that his reſidence at Vienna was not agreeable; and accordingly he ſoon after quitted that city.

THE reſumption of their arms by the Hanoverians was an event favourable to the king of Pruſſia, though not beneficial either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover [B].

[B] Dr. Smollett remarks, that if the French had been allowed to keep Hanover as a depoſit, agreeably to what they alleged was the intention of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, 'the kingdom of Great Britain would have ſaved about twenty 'millions of money, together with the lives of her beſt ſoldiers; and Weſtphalia would have continued to enjoy all the 'bleſſings of ſecurity and peace. But the king of England's 'tenderneſs for Hanover was one of the chief ſources of the 'misfortunes which befel that electorate. He could not bear 'the thoughts of ſeeing it, even for a ſeaſon, in the hands 'of the enemy; and his own ſentiments in this particular 'were reinforced by the preſſing remonſtrances of the Pruſſian 'monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous 'to diſoblige.' Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 199, 200. The ſame writer alſo obſerves, that the king of Pruſſia recommended prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick to the command of the Hanoverians, 'becauſe he knew, that 'he could depend upon his concurring with all his meaſures, 'in conducting the operations of the Britiſh army.' Ibid. p. 201.

But

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But before the events that I have juſt related, the Auſtrian army had made a conſiderable progreſs in the province of Sileſia; and a large detachment of Auſtrian troops, under the command of count Nadaſti, had inveſted Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it. The Pruſſian garriſon was commanded by the generals Seers and Grumkow; and the Pruſſians made a ſally, in which they killed, wounded, and took priſoners, eight hundred of the beſiegers, and did ſome damage to their works. But, on the ſixth of November, the Auſtrians began to cannonade the city very furiouſly; and, on the eleventh of that month, they made themſelves maſters of the ramparts by aſſault; which obliged the governor to capitulate the next morning. The garriſon, conſiſting of four generals, and about ſix thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. A vaſt quantity of proviſions, artillery, and ſtores, fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, together with three hundred thouſand florins[37].

AFTER the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain and marechal Daun, who had inveſted Breſlaw on the ſide of the Oder, whilſt the prince of Bevern

[37] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 112.

defended

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defended it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with the army under his command, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Auſtrians being thus united, and intelligence having arrived, that the king of Pruſſia was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was immediately reſolved to attack that Pruſſian general in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine in the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders[38]; and at noon the Pruſſian intrenchments were ſtormed in every quarter. Twice were the Auſtrians repulſed with great ſlaughter; but at the third attack, the Pruſſians, being overpowered by numbers, and aſſailed on all ſides, began to loſe ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the prince of Bevern being apprehenſive that his entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that he ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. He retired, with the greateſt part of his army, to an eminence on the banks of the Oder; whilſt the remainder of his troops threw themſelves into Breſlaw.

THE Auſtrian army was more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians under the prince

[38] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, from the London Gazette.

of

of Bevern; and the loss of the Austrians, in the battle of BRESLAW, amounted to about six thousand, killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Prussians must also have been considerable; but general Lloyd remarks [39], that of their loss no account appeared; and it is supposed to have been much inferior to that of the Austrians. On their side general Wurben was killed; and one lieutenant-general, and four major-generals, were wounded. On the side of the Prussians one general was killed; and prince Francis of Brunswick, the prince of Wurtemberg, and general Schultz, were wounded [40]. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

Two days after the battle, the prince of Bevern rode out early in the morning, attended only by a single servant, to reconnoitre the enemy, when he fell in among a party of Croats, by whom he was taken prisoner [c]. The command of the Prussian

[39] Hist. of the War, ut supra, p. 120.

[40] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, 608. from the London Gazette.

[c] The following account is given of the prince of Bevern being taken prisoner, in an extract of a letter from the Imperial army near Breslaw, published in the London Gazette of Dec. 13, 1757. 'On the 24th (of November) Te Deum 'was sung. The same day the prince of Bevern, commander 'in chief of the Prussian army, having been to reconnoitre 'Lissa, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a body of 'Croats, who were in general Beck's advanced posts. He is 'made prisoner of war, and carried to Stablowitz, where 'marechal Daun's quarters formerly were, and is guarded by 'a lieute-

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Pruſſian troops then devolved upon general Kyow; but, on the twenty-fifth of November, the city of Breſlaw ſurrendered to the Auſtrians by capitulation [D]. The garriſon, commanded by general Leſtewitz, was permitted to march out with all military honours.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Roſbach, the king of Pruſſia reſolved to march into Sileſia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians. Accordingly he ſet out from Leipſic on the twelfth of November, at the head of nineteen

'a lieutenant and thirty men. He is treated with every mark 'of diſtinction, that his birth, character, and eminent quali-'ties deſerve. You may eaſily imagine, that we are not ſorry 'for this accident; for he cuts us out a great deal of work.'

General Lloyd ſays, that the prince of Bevern was releaſed in 1758, without any ranſom, on account of his being ſomewhat related to the empreſs-queen: but other accounts ſay, that he was releaſed in exchange for one of the Auſtrian generals. The king of Pruſſia having afterwards expreſſed much diſapprobation of his conduct, he retired to Stettin, of which he was governor, and continued there till 1762, when he was called to the army in Sileſia, and had a corps entruſted to his command, while the king was beſieging Schweidnitz. This prince was eſteemed an able general: he was wounded at the battle of Molwitz; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battles of Hohen Friedberg, Lowoſitz, and Prague.

[D] Frederick ſays, 'The capture of Breſlaw coſt the 'enemy thirteen generals, ſix hundred and eighty-ſix officers, 'and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-five common 'ſoldiers.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, p. 246.

batta-

battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons [41]; and whilſt he marched towards Luſatia, marechal Keith entered Bohemia through the defile of Paſsberg, with a view to draw the Auſtrian general Marſchal, then in Luſatia, into Bohemia, and thereby to facilitate the march of the king. At Leutmeritz, marechal Keith ſeized a conſiderable magazine belonging to the Auſtrians; he then ſet fire to the bridge over the Elbe, and marched on towards Prague; but after a ſhort ſtay in Bohemia, he marched back again into Saxony.

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THE king arrived at Torgau on the fourteenth of the month; and on the ſeventeenth he paſſed the river at Groſſen-hayn, where he firſt heard of the ſurrender of Schweidnitz. On the twenty-fourth, he arrived at Naumbourg upon the Queiſs; and there he received information of the battle of Breſlaw. He then made forced marches; and, on the twenty-eighth arrived at Parchwitz near the Oder, where his vanguard ſurprized a detachment of eleven hundred Auſtrians, fifty of which were killed, and one hundred and fifty made priſoners. The troops, which had been under the command of the prince of Bevern, had croſſed the Oder at Glogau, and joined the king on the ſecond of December. It is alſo ſaid, that

[41] Account of the progreſs of the Pruſſian army, and of the battle of Liſſa, ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 626.

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about this time Frederick was joined by a conſiderable part of the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which had riſen upon the eſcort by which they were guarded, and diſperſed them; and, without knowing the ſituation of the king, had the good fortune to meet him on his march [42].

ON the fourth of December, Frederick arrived at Neumarck, where was a conſiderable Auſtrian magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a riſing ground. The king ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Ziethen fell upon them ſabre in hand, and ſome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms. Frederick now received information, that prince Charles of Lorrain, and marechal Daun, had left Breſlaw; that the Auſtrian army had advanced beyond LISSA; and that their right wing was covered by the village of Niepern, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear. He immediately reſolved to attack them; and accordingly gave orders to his army to march for that purpoſe at five the next morning, which was the fifth of December, juſt one month from the day on which he had gained his victory at Roſbach.

[42] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 24. Smollett, p. 185. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 6.

AT

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AT day-break, a part of the Auſtrian cavalry were deſcried on a hill, about half a league from Neumarck. They had ſpread themſelves ſo much, that they were at firſt ſuppoſed to be the whole Auſtrian army; but, upon a nearer approach, they were diſcovered to be only two regiments of huſſars, and ſome Saxon dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general count Noſtitz. They were attacked by the Pruſſian vanguard, who drove them back to their own camp, and took ſix officers, and about five hundred men priſoners.

THE Auſtrian army was very ſtrongly poſted, in front of the village of LEUTHEN, upon a fine plain, with ſome adjacent eminences well furniſhed with artillery, and fortified both on the right and left by ſtrong batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was interſected by many cauſeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Auſtrians had felled great numbers of trees, and ſcattered them in the way. The Auſtrian army alſo amounted to ſixty thouſand men, while that of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed thirty-three thouſand.

IT was about one o'clock at noon when the battle commenced. The attack began in a wood, where the Auſtrians had poſted ſome infantry, but which were forced by the Pruſſians. Some brigades of Auſtrian infantry were alſo poſted on an eminence that lay behind the wood; but

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these were also attacked by the Prussians, and routed after an obstinate resistance. The Austrian generals were deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia towards their right wing, against which he had made great demonstrations, and which induced them to collect their chief strength thither: whilst he, being concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a masterly stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he meditated his real attack [43]. General Lloyd remarks, that 'the king's conduct 'was founded on the most sublime principles of 'war. Though his army was much inferior to 'that of the enemy, yet, by dint of superior 'manœuvres, he brought more men into action, 'at the point attacked, than they; which must 'be decisive, when the troops are nearly equal 'in goodness [44].'

At the beginning of the action, it was almost impossible for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments which the Austrians had thrown in their way; but by degrees these obstructions were so far overcome, that the Prussian cavalry acted with great effect; and the judicious dispositions of the king greatly contributed to the defeat of the Austrians. When he first formed his army, he had placed four bat-

[a]

[43] Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 295, 300.

[44] Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 139.

Citations

talions behind the cavalry of his right wing, fore- CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.
ſeeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps de reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen; that general's horſe attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diſorder[45]. The Auſtrians gave way on all ſides, but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. They made a great ſtand at the village of LEUTHEN, which was defended on all ſides by entrenchments and redoubts; and they maintained the battle at this place about an hour longer. But they were at length compelled to give up the conteſt, to yield to the ſuperior valour of the Pruſſians, and to retire with precipitation. They were purſued by the Pruſſian cavalry and huſſars great part of the night; and Frederick himſelf purſued them as far as LISSA, where his army ſpent the night under arms; and from this place the battle has been generally denominated [E]; but the king of Pruſſia calls it the battle of LEUTHEN.

FREDE-

[45] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 25.

[E] Voltaire ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, who had beaten 'our army in Thuringia, at Roſbach, ſet out next to fight the 'Auſtrian army at ſixty leagues diſtance. The French might 'then ſtill have entered Saxony. The conquerors had marched

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FREDERICK says, that 'had not night come on, this battle would have been the most decisive of the present age.' He adds, that the Prussians lost, 'in killed and wounded, only two thousand six hundred and sixty men.' 'The Austrians lost three hundred and seven officers, twenty-one thousand soldiers, one hundred and thirty-four cannon, and fifty-nine pair of colours. Generals Ziethen and Fouquet took two thousand five hundred prisoners in the pursuit[46].' The confusion of the Austrians, in the pursuit, became so great, that a cornet of general Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten Prussians only, took, disarmed, and brought prisoners to the head-quarters, one hundred Austrians; for which gallant action Frederick pro-

'elsewhere, and there was nothing to oppose them. But they 'had thrown away their arms, and lost their cannon, ammu-'nition, and provisions, and above all, their understanding. 'They were dispersed, and their remains were with difficulty 'collected. A month afterwards, and on the same day of 'the month, Frederick gained a still more signal and better-'contested victory, over the Austrian army near Breslaw. He 'retook Breslaw, with fifteen thousand prisoners, and the rest 'of Silesia soon submitted to him. Gustavus Adolphus never 'performed such acts. We must, therefore, pardon him his 'poetry, his pleasantries, his little malice, and even his sins 'against the female sex. All the faults of the man vanish 'before the glory of the hero.' Memoires de Voltaire, p. 172, 173.

[46] Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome I. p. 242, 243, 246.

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moted the cornet to the rank of a captain, and conferred on him the order of merit [47]. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

AFTER this great victory, the king of Pruſſia marched to Breſlaw, and immediately opened the trenches before that city. On the ſixteenth of December, a bomb having fallen into a magazine of powder, the attacked baſtion, and near half the adjoining curtain was blown up, and above eight hundred of the Auſtrians. This misfortune obliged the commandant to capitulate on the twentieth of the month. The garriſon, conſiſting of above ſeventeen thouſand men, including thirteen general officers, and the ſick and wounded at the two laſt battles, were made priſoners of war [48]. The blockade of Schweidnitz was alſo formed, as cloſely as the extreme ſeverity of the weather [F] would permit; whilſt the

[47] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 11.

[48] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 135.

[F] Dr. Smollett obſerves, that 'ſuch was the rigour of 'the ſeaſon, that ſome hundreds of the ſentinels dropped 'down dead on their ſeveral poſts, unable to ſuſtain the ſeve'rity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general re'proach of paying very little regard to the lives of their 'ſoldiers; and, indeed, this practice of winter-campaigns, in 'ſuch a cold country, beſpeaks very little regard to the dic'tates of humanity.' Hiſt. ut ſupra, p. 189.

Though the king of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, in his 'Military Inſtructions for the Generals of his Army,' that he had made more winter-campaigns than any other general of his own time, he yet makes the following remarks relative to

Britain

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the Pruſſian parties not only re-poſſeſſed thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to the king, but penetrating into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorff, Troppau, and Teſchen, and left to the empreſs-queen, excepting Schweidnitz, which was now beſieged, not the leaſt footing in that country, in which, leſs than a month before, her dominion was ſuppoſed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed [49].

THUS ended the active and memorable campaign of 1757, in which Frederick, notwithſtanding his defeat at Kolin, and the other misfortunes which he met with, had gained three ſignal and important victories, that of PRAGUE, of ROSBACH, and of LISSA; and in each of theſe battles he had himſelf commanded in perſon. It was a year diſtinguiſhed by great events, and by ſtriking revolutions of fortune; and in which the great power of the king of Pruſſia's enemies

ſuch campaigns. 'Winter-campaigns are the ruin of your 'troops, not only on account of the ſickneſs they occaſion, 'but becauſe, from your continual motion, they can neither 'be clothed nor recruited. The ſame want of repoſe, pre-'vents all your carriages, &c. from being properly repaired, 'and ends in their total deſtruction. Nothing can be more 'certain, than that the beſt army in the world cannot long 'ſupport ſuch campaigns; for which reaſon, winter expedi-'tions ought by all means to be avoided: not but there is a 'poſſibility of a general being ſo circumſtanced, as to be 'obliged to have recourſe to that kind of ruinous war.' Military Inſtructions, p. 170.

[49] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 35.

had

had been remarkably either baffled, or defeated. The numerous armies which had been brought againſt him appeared almoſt annihilated; and the rapidity with which he recovered his loſſes, the ſtand which he made againſt the potentates that were united againſt him, the greatneſs of his enterprizes, and the ſplendour of his victories, arreſted the attention, and excited the admiration of ſurrounding nations. Throughout the year, he diſplayed ſuch conſummate military ſkill, ſuch vigour and fortitude of mind, and ſuch heroic courage, as extorted the applauſe even of his enemies. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

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Schweidnitz ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia.—A ſubſidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain.—Frederick enters Moravia at the head of his army, and lays ſiege to Olmutz.—Marechal Daun alſo enters Moravia, intercepts the Pruſſian convoys, and obliges the king to raiſe the ſiege.

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AT the opening of the campaign of the year 1758, the king of Pruſſia divided his forces into four ſeparate bodies; one of which he ordered to aſſemble on the right of the Oder, between Wohlau and Glogau, to cover Sileſia on that ſide, and make head againſt the Ruſſians, in caſe they ſhould advance that way; another towards Upper Sileſia, on the ſide of Moravia, which preſerved at the ſame time a communication with Glatz; the third in Luſatia, to ſecure the communication with Saxony, and annoy the frontiers of Bohemia; while the fourth and principal body, which was to be under the immediate command of the king himſelf, was aſſembled near Schweidnitz. As the ſiege of that place had been turned into a blockade, it was not inveſted in form till the twenty-firſt of March, when the operations were carried on with great vigour, and the place ſurrendered on the ſixteenth

sixteenth of April. The garrison, which had been reduced by sickness during the blockade, and by their losses during the siege, from seven to little more than three thousand men, were made prisoners of war. CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758.

Of the king's behaviour, during this siege, to an officer of artillery in his service, but who seems not to have been a native of the Prussian dominions, an anecdote is related, which appears not unworthy of being preserved. The king had expressed much dissatisfaction at the engineers and miners in the course of the siege; and in particular treated this officer, who was a captain of artillery, somewhat rudely; and concluded with ordering him to leave his service. The officer, who was then in the trenches, made no reply, but immediately quitted the spot. The king, seeing him walk off, called him back, and said to him, 'You may stay till the siege is over, 'and then you may go.' 'I am obliged to your 'majesty,' replied the officer, 'for giving me 'leave to break an arm, or a leg, before I leave 'your service; but I shall stand in need of both, 'to save your majesty the expence of having me 'carried out of your territories.' The king smiled at the officer's repartee, sent him back to his post, and ordered him a gratuity [50].

[50] Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 70. The author of this publication informs us, that this anecdote was related to him by the officer himself.

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As at the close of the preceding year the Hanoverians had resumed their arms, and began to act with vigour against the French, it also appeared early in the year 1758, that the king of Prussia would derive great assistance, if not by auxiliary troops, at least by a supply of money, from the king and parliament of Great Britain. It has, indeed, been said, that though no subsidy was openly mentioned in the first treaty made by his Britannick majesty with the king of Prussia, yet that a subsidy of 200,000l. was privately stipulated. However that were, a second treaty was concluded between their Britannick and Prussian majesties; which was signed at London on the twelfth of April, 1758, in which it was stated, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty, to defend himself against the numerous enemies, who had assailed him on all sides at once, had put him to a very heavy expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues had greatly decreased in that part of his dominions which had been the theatre of war; and as the contracting powers had mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannick majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most

speedy

ſpeedy and efficacious method of attaining the ends propoſed. It then farther ſtated, that the king of Great Britain engaged to pay, in the city of London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhould be authorized to receive it, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING, to be paid at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty[11].

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FOR this enormous ſubſidy no ſpecific ſervices were ſtipulated to be rendered either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover. It was only ſtated, in general terms, that his Pruſſian majeſty engaged to apply the money in augmenting and keeping up his forces, which ſhould act as might be moſt for the intereſt of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity. It was added, that neither of the contracting powers ſhould conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind ſoever, without the participation of the other.

THE firſt Pruſſian treaty entered into by his Britannick majeſty, was, in a very high degree injudicious and impolitic; and the ſecond was, extremely burthenſome to his ſubjects. Indeed, by theſe treaties he involved his regal dominions

[11] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 74, 75.

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in an immenſe expence, and rendered no real ſervice to the electorate of Hanover. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, was one reaſon aſſigned for a connection with Pruſſia. But no ſecurity was derived to the balance of power from the Pruſſian treaties. Few events could have more endangered that balance, than a union between the powerful houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; and this union appears to have been entirely occaſioned by the firſt Pruſſian treaty. It may alſo be obſerved, that no one intereſt of Great Britain was promoted by the war carrying on by the king of Pruſſia againſt the empreſs-queen; nor could Great Britain derive any advantage from his invaſion of Saxony, a Proteſtant electorate, with the ſovereign of which his Britannick majeſty had been in cloſe alliance, and from whom he had received no injury. Ruſſia had alſo been in alliance with Great Britain; and it could not be advantageous to the latter to be at variance with the czarina.

BUT notwithſtanding the many reaſons that may be urged, againſt the part which was taken by Great Britain in ſupport of the king of Pruſſia, the fact was, that, after his victories at ROSBACH and LISSA, this prince became extremely popular in England [c]. His heroic qualities

[c] Count Algarotti ſays, that 'the French army having 'been routed by the king of Pruſſia, when it was leaſt expected, 'at

qualities excited admiration; the cauſes of the war in which he was engaged were not ſufficiently inveſti- CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758.

'at the memorable battle of ROSBACH, and in a month after, 'the Auſtrians, at the ſtill more memorable battle of LISSA, 'which was followed by the taking of Breſlaw, the Engliſh 'began to talk of nothing but the king of Pruſſia's victories. 'It was a ſcandal, they ſaid, to leave at the mercy of Fortune, 'a Hero, who ſhould be conſidered as the champion of the 'Proteſtant cauſe in Germany, and the only prince on the 'continent worthy the alliance of England, in oppoſition to 'France. His portrait was every where to be ſeen, and was 'the admiration of all deſcriptions of perſons. His birth-'day was kept through the whole iſland with as much re-'joicing, as if at Roſbach he had ſaved England from the in-'vaſion of the French. The king took the advantage of this 'public enthuſiaſm, to bring once more upon the carpet the 'propoſition of ſending an army, or at leaſt a large body of 'Engliſh troops, to the continent.'—'The next year, large 'reinforcements of Engliſh troops were ſent to Germany; 'the famous treaty of ſubſidy with Pruſſia was concluded; and 'then it was that PITT conceived the idea of conquering 'America in Germany; conſtrained, as he himſelf has ſince 'acknowledged, by the neceſſity which Engliſh miniſters will 'ever be under, whilſt the king of Great Britain is elector of 'Hanover.' Letters Military and Political, p. 127, 128, 129.

Such was the enthuſiaſm of many in England for the king of Pruſſia, that ſubſcriptions were propoſed to be raiſed for him; and a maiden lady, of Saliſbury, remitted to him, by her banker, one thouſand pounds as a preſent. Gent. Mag. for the year 1758, p. 142. Some Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen alſo made offers of entering into his army as volunteers, but their offers were declined. The king's anſwer was, that 'he was very ſenſible of the honour done him by thoſe 'Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, who were deſirous to learn

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inveſtigated, or underſtood; and he was conſidered as the great defender of the Proteſtant religion in Germany; though the war, in which he was engaged, had not in reality any connection whatever with religion [H]. He would as readily have united himſelf with the king of France, as with the king of England, if he had thought his own views would have been equally promoted. No new deſigns againſt the Proteſtant religion had been formed by any of the Popiſh princes; and, indeed, from no Roman Catholic prince in that age, did the

'the art of war under him, by ſerving as volunteers; but that 'the luxury and expence of the Britiſh nobility and gentry 'could not be admitted into his camp, leſt it ſhould prove in-'fectious.' Beſides his apprehenſions from the infection of luxury, Frederick was probably conſcious, from what he might have learned of the Engliſh character, that there were many things in his conduct, which, upon a near inſpection, would not naturally recommend him to Engliſhmen; and that the reports which they might tranſmit to their own country concerning him, might have no tendency to increaſe the ardour of the people of England in his ſupport.

[H] In a declaration which was publiſhed by the empreſs-queen at Vienna, in anſwer to a manifeſto of the king of Pruſſia, is the following paſſage: 'The hoſtile projects which the king 'of Pruſſia hath cheriſhed in his own breaſt were to ſeem the 'conſequences of that zeal, with which he pretended to be 'filled for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, which was 'diſturbed or threatened by none: whereas the perſons of 'beſt ſenſe of that very religion are convinced, that if only 'the ſupport of religion was in queſtion, the king of Pruſſia 'would not ſacrifice one private ſoldier to the cauſe.' Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 432.

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Proteſtants in Germany ſuffer ſo much, as they did from the king of Pruſſia. This was the caſe not in Saxony only, but in Bohemia, and other places. CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758.

AT the period of which I am writing, Mr. PITT was ſecretary of ſtate in England; and it was manifeſt, that this great miniſter now acted in oppoſition to his former declarations and opinions, reſpecting continental connections, in compliance with the perſonal prejudices of the king. When out of office, he had vehemently declared in parliament, that 'not a man, no, not half a 'man, ſhould be ſent to fight the battles of any 'foreign elector;' and his declarations of this kind had given great offence to king George II. When he was ſecretary of ſtate in 1757, he ſtill continued to oppoſe ſending Britiſh troops to Germany, and was removed from his office; but he was afterwards re-inſtated, by the voice of the people prevailing againſt the private inclinations of the king. He concurred, however, the following year, in the ſecond Pruſſian treaty, and in the meaſures which were the reſult of it. As to the firſt Pruſſian treaty, it was concluded when he was not in power; and he could not, therefore, be anſwerable for the conſequences. Mr. PITT poſſeſſed an elevated genius, had great views, and really wiſhed to promote the honour and the intereſt of his country; but he was alſo influenced by motives of ambition; and he found,

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that no man was likely to continue long in power, who would not comply with the perſonal prejudices of the king, and ſupport his attachment to German ſubſidies, and German connections. 'What the king has moſt at heart,' ſays count Algarotti, 'is certainly his electorate of Hanover. This is the compaſs that has uniformly guided the wars of England, ſince the elevation of the houſe of Brunſwick to the throne of that kingdom; and the preſervation of this electorate will ſtill continue to be the ruling principle [52].'

BUT it is neceſſary that I ſhould return to the military operations of the king of Pruſſia. After the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, he advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and ſent a detachment as far as Trautenau, which was garriſoned by a body of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this ſucceſs he opened to himſelf a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raiſe contributions, and harraſs the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time, the baron de la Mothe Fouquet, marched with another body of troops againſt the Auſtrian general Jahnus, who was poſted in the county of Glatz, and whom he obliged to abandon all the poſts that he occupied in that country. He purſued him as far as

[52] Letters Military and Political, p. 101.

Nachod,

Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was now encamped, under the command of marechal Daun. Beſides theſe excurſions, the king ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, who had diſplayed great military talents againſt the army of the empire, which had been aſſembled with great difficulty near Bamberg, in Franconia, under the comma ' of the prince de Deuxponts. CHAP. XXV. A. D. 1758.

THE king of Pruſſia, by the motions of his troops, took ſome pains to induce the Auſtrians to believe, that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. But his real deſign was to change the theatre of war, and to penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from ravage and contribution. And if he could have ſucceeded in his operations in this country, his ſucceſſes, by opening to him the neareſt road to Vienna, muſt have proved more deciſive than in any other place. Accordingly having poſted ſome of his troops in ſuch a manner, as to deceive the enemy with reſpect to his real deſign, the main of his army, by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns[53]. As by this unexpected march he had thrown his enemies behind him, it was expected, that he would have proceeded directly to Vienna. But he ſaw the

[53] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 40, 41.

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danger of leaving an Auſtrian garriſon in Olmutz, ſupported by an Auſtrian army in his rear. He, therefore, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of that ſtrong town, before he advanced farther. He accordingly opened the trenches before it on the twenty-ſeventh of May, with the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs [54]. He drove the Auſtrian and Saxon cavalry, under general Ville, beyond Wiſchaw; and his army took poſſeſſion of all the poſts, which were proper for covering the troops intended to be employed in the ſiege. The margrave Charles occupied the poſt of Neuſtadt; the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau that of Littau; and the king himſelf took poſt on the eminences between Proſtnitz and Olitſchau [55].

MARECHAL Daun being appriſed of Frederick's motions and deſigns, now quitted his camp at Leutomiſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. He did not, however, think it prudent to attack the king of Pruſſia; but ſuppoſed that he might more certainly and ſafely prevent his progreſs, by adopting a more wary and cautious mode of conduct. He took his poſts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a ſituation in which it was impoſſible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he readily and certainly drew ſupplies, at his rear. His ſcheme was, to

[54] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 311.

[55] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 150.

relieve

relieve the beſieged occaſionally, to harraſs the beſiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh[56]. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo peculiarly ſituated on the river Moravia, that it is a city which it is very difficult completely to inveſt. Some of the king's poſts, therefore, being neceſſarily weakened, by occupying ſo great an extent of country, they were attacked by count Daun's detachments from time to time, with ſuch ſucceſs, that abundant ſuccours both of men and ammunition were thrown into the place. Theſe attacks were moſtly made by night, and very few nights paſſed without ſome attack. The ſucceſs was various. But the operations of the ſiege were greatly diſturbed by theſe continual alarms[57]. The forage in the neighbourhood of Moravia had alſo become extremely ſcarce; ſo that the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions for forage to a great diſtance, and were conſequently expoſed to great fatigue, and often liable to ſurprize. Marechal Daun availed himſelf of all theſe circumſtances; and it was in vain that the king of Pruſſia employed various arts to incite him to a battle. While the garriſon made repeated ſallies, to retard the operations of the beſiegers, the Auſtrian general harraſſed the Pruſſian foraging parties, fell upon different

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[56] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 315. [57] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra,

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quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, the king finiſhed his firſt parallel, and proceeded with ſuch vigour, as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely fruſtrated by the vigilance and activity of count Daun. That able general having received intelligence, that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of compelling the king to deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſent general Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadt-Liebe, with orders to attack the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. Frederick was not deceived by this feint. From the motions of the Auſtrian general, he ſuſpected his real ſcheme, and immediately diſpatched general Ziethen, with a ſtrong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men, who had been ſick, and were juſt recovered; and who, it is ſaid, 'were regimented for the 'ſake of order in the march[58].' But before Ziethen could join them, the convoy had been

[58] Relation of the King of Pruſſia's proceedings, from his entering Moravia, &c. publiſhed by authority at Berlin, and ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, printed in the London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 412, 413, &c.

attacked;

attacked; though the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately reinforced; and the next day, which was the twenty-ninth of June, the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, four battalions of Pruſſian infantry, and about a thouſand troopers, had ſcarcely paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly, both on the ſide of Bahrn, and on that of Domſtadt. The head of the convoy was cut off from the reſt; and general Ziethen, though he exerted himſelf like a brave and able officer, was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau [59].

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THUS almoſt the whole Pruſſian convoy fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, who took above ſix hundred priſoners, together with general Putkammer. This unfavourable event compelled Frederick to raiſe the ſiege; but if the convoy had arrived ſafe, it was ſuppoſed that the place could not have held out more than a fortnight, though a very gallant defence was made by the governor, general Marſchall [60].

[59] Berlin account, in the Lond. Mag. ut ſupra.

[60] Id. ibid.

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Frederick retires out of Moravia, marches into Bohemia, and makes himself master of Koningsgratz.—The Russians enter the Prussian dominions, and commit great ravages there.—Siege of Custrin.—The king of Prussia sets out from Bohemia, to oppose the progress of the Russians.—Battle of Zorndorff.

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THE king of Prussia having been obliged to raise the siege of Olmutz, by the able and vigilant conduct of count Daun, now found it necessary to change his designs, and to retire out of Moravia. But it was a matter of some difficulty to retreat without loss, in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage. In this, however, he had the good fortune to succeed. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his own dominions, he determined to take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marechal Daun, when he advanced his quarters to Prostnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After Frederick had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the Austrians. The day before the siege was raised, the firing of the Prussians

Pruſſians continued as briſk as ever; and there was no appearance of their having any intention to depart. But in the night of the firſt of July, the whole Pruſſian army took the road to Bohemia in two columns, and gained an entire day's march upon the Auſtrians. So that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts that marechal Daun could make, to harraſs the king in his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little moleſtation, ſeized upon a large magazine at Leutomiſſel, defeated ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops who had attempted to diſturb him in his progreſs, and arrived at Koningſgratz, one of the moſt important poſts in Bohemia, with all his ſick and wounded, and with all his baggage, artillery, and military ſtores. Of this place he made himſelf maſter, after driving from it a body of ſeven thouſand Auſtrians, who were entrenched there; and he immediately laid the city, and ſeveral other diſtricts, under contribution [61].

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During theſe tranſactions, the Ruſſian army, which was now commanded by general Fermor, marechal Apraxin having been removed from the command, had again entered the Pruſſian dominions, and committed great ravages in various parts of the country. Early in the year, general Fermor had taken poſſeſſion of Koningſburg, the capital of Ducal Pruſſia, without oppoſi-

[61] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 42, 43. Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 327, 328. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 312.

tion;

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tion.[62] the Pruſſian troops having quitted that country, in order to proſecute the war againſt the Swedes, who had again commenced hoſtilities in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. But general Fermor afterwards advanced towards Sileſia, in order to co-operate with another body of Ruſſian troops, commanded by general Browne, who had taken his route through Poland. By the firſt of July, both the bodies of Ruſſian troops had reached the frontiers of Sileſia, and ſome of their Coſſacks, penetrating into that province, had committed great ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with conſternation.[63] But the Ruſſian generals afterwards changed their route, and entered the New Marche of Brandenburgh [I]; and they inveſted Cuſ-

TRIN,

[62] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 145.

[63] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 329, 330.

[I] The prince-royal of Pruſſia died about a month before the Ruſſians had entered the Pruſſian territories. He is ſaid to have had a ſtrong apprehenſion, that the conduct of Frederick would bring ruin upon the houſe of Brandenburgh; and, when his phyſicians informed him, that he could not live more than twenty-four hours, he is reported to have written a long letter to the king his brother, containing a free remonſtrance againſt ſome parts of his conduct; and in which letter were the following paſſages: 'In theſe critical hours, in which I am 'endeavouring to collect and to raiſe all the faculties of my 'ſoul, for a laſt exertion, I neither can, nor will, deſcend to 'my perſonal grievances. I leave to my ſons the ſorrowful 'ſatisfaction of hearing you regret, that you have been too

ſlow

TRIN, a fortified town, within fifty miles of Berlin. Count Dohna, with a body of Prussian troops

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'slow in doing me justice. I leave it to my brothers, Henry and Ferdinand, to point out the difference that you ought 'to make, between the princes of your blood, and the rest of 'your subjects. Your courtiers will themselves do me justice. 'They have treated me with contempt: they have dared to 'post up libels against me. But when time shall have con'soled them for the expence of that mourning, which it will 'be necessary for them to put themselves to on my account, 'they will acknowledge my rights, and be sensible of the in'juries that they have done me. Perhaps, sire, I shall be too 'much avenged by my sons, by my brothers, by your friends. 'I foresee it; and it is in vain that I wish to exist only in the 'remembrance of your majesty. Yes, sire, the regrets of my 'brother will be sufficient, in my eyes, to expiate the faults 'of my king. I should willingly leave posterity in an error 'respecting my concerns.

'Though I have given some flight to my imagination, the 'slow fever which consumes me has not sufficiently enflamed 'my blood, to throw any disorder into my understanding. 'My ideas are arranged, and they produce themselves with 'order. I have a sight sufficiently strong, to follow Phaeton 'even to the utmost height of his course. Far from being 'dazzled by the rays which surround him, I see with a fixed 'eye the progress of his downfall, the false courses into which 'he deviates, the intractability of his horses, and his own 'embarrassment. And when I have ceased to reason upon 'the subject, I fix my attention upon the sorrowful spectacle 'of his fall, and upon the misfortunes of his family.

'Your majesty disdains my predictions. Like another Cas'sandra, I have seen the court, and the army, insult the genius 'which inspires me. But condescend to listen to me, sire, 'now that I cannot be suspected of any illusion, or deceit, in 'my auguries.

'Fuimus

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troops under his command, who had for ſome time been employed in acting againſt the Swedes, who

"*Fuimus Troës. Fuit Ilium.* 'There is an end, ſire, of the 'power, and of the houſe of Pruſſia, if you continue to brave 'all Europe, confederated together againſt you. I am willing 'to conſider you as ſuperior to all the kings, whom a boiſte-'rous life has rendered famous. I admit, that, with the ſame 'deſtiny as theirs, you may always have the advantage of 'being leſs renowned by your fall, than by the great atchieve-'ments you have made before that ſhall take place. Yes, it 'would be to degrade you, to compare you to the warlike 'kings of Sweden. Your forces are greater than thoſe of 'Guſtavus Adolphus; you have more knowledge and more 'prudence than Charles Guſtavus; and your talents are more 'various than thoſe of Charles XII. Nevertheleſs, your 'horoſcope is more inauſpicious than theirs. The firſt pre-'vented by his death the inconſtancy of fortune; the ſecond 'died of chagrin, when he was upon the point of being hum-'bled; the third, ſurvived his grandeur and his glory. But 'their cauſe was leſs diſadvantageous than yours. Charles XII. 'defended himſelf; you have attacked. His enemies were 'deſirous to weaken him; yours have a right to ruin you. 'His enemies required indulgence of him; you have need of 'that of your enemies. He wanted to avenge himſelf; you 'are an object of vengeance. They feared his perſon, they 'were diſarmed by his death: your enemies hate the power, 'and dread the houſe of Pruſſia. Your enemies cannot be 'appeaſed but by the deſtruction of the one, and the abaſe-'ment of the other. Charles marched againſt three ſovereigns 'who had defied him; you force all Europe to arm againſt 'you. The princes of it are leagued againſt your majeſty by 'juſtice and by intereſt; and their ſubjects attach to your 'ruin the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, the honour of ſovereignty, 'the ſafety of monarchical government. The admiration

that

who had again commenced hostilities, now attended the motions of the Russians; but his force was

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'that your great actions inspire, is an astonishment followed 'by fear, and by grief. Men read in your success the slavery 'of the human race, the annihilation of laws, the degradation of society.' *Vie de Frederick* II. *Roi de Prusse*, edit. 8vo. Strasbourg, 1788, tom. II. p. 316, 317, 318.

In the above letter the prince also strongly remonstrates against the king's treatment of the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and speaking of the correspondence between the courts of Saxony and Vienna, published by Frederick, he says, 'The more you have proved that you were acquainted with 'the intentions of Saxony, the more odious have you rendered its invasion. It has been seen, that, in order to procure this knowledge, your minister Malzham has degraded 'his character; and that, by means proscribed in society, all 'that you have discovered is, that the king-elector of Saxony 'did not love the power of Prussia, that he feared it, and 'that he even dared to form projects to defend himself against 'it. Pieces which are stolen make against the accuser who 'produces them, if they do not prove the crime that they 'impute.' Ibid. p. 325.

The prince likewise makes a variety of observations relative to the views and dispositions of the different courts of Europe respecting the king of Prussia; and he remarks, that Hanover and England were Frederick's only allies. On this alliance, he said, the king could not long depend; for the English were sufficiently acquainted with geography to know, that 'there 'was but little communication between the Oder and the 'Ohio.' Speaking of the czarina, he says, 'Russia is persuaded, that your designs upon her occasioned the applications that you made to the court of Vienna, to substitute a truce of two years in the room of a solemn treaty of peace. 'She believes, that you wanted to tie up the hands of the

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was not ſufficiently conſiderable to oppoſe their progreſs. They carried on the ſiege of Cuſtrin with great fury; and threw ſuch a multitude of bombs and red-hot balls into that city, that in a ſhort time it was on fire in every quarter. Some of the inhabitants were conſumed in the flames, ſome buried in the ruins, and ſome killed by the balls, which fell like hail in the ſtreets. The ſurviving majority, who found ſafety neither within nor without their houſes, abandoned their homes and their ſubſtance, and fled, many of them almoſt naked, out of the city, on that ſide which was not inveſted [K]. The governor, however,

'empreſs-queen, ſo as to put it out of her power to ſuccour 'her ally; that a war againſt Ruſſia was the principal object 'of your intrigues in Sweden; that you have deſigns upon 'Courland, and that Poliſh Pruſſia and Pomerania would be 'very convenient for you; that you find Ruſſia the greateſt 'obſtacle to this rounding of your dominions; and, in ſhort, 'ſhe believes, that ſhe has the ſame intereſt in your abaſement 'as the houſe of Auſtria.' He concludes with exhorting the king his brother, in very pathetic terms, to liſten to terms of peace, and thereby to prevent the ruin of himſelf, of his people, and of his royal houſe. *Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe*, ut ſupra, p. 327—332. But though this letter has been repeatedly printed, it appears not to be genuine. The Abbe Denina ſays, 'The letter, which it has been ſaid this 'prince wrote when dying to the king his brother, is only a 'ſatirical piece, forged in order to decry the conduct of the 'king.' Eſſai ſur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II. p. 153.

[K] In the tranſlation of a letter written by an inhabitant of CUSTRIN, who was reſident in the city during part of the ſiege,

however, did every thing in his power, for the defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but the CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

siege, are the following passages: 'The enemy threw such a 'multitude of bombs and red hot bullets into the city, that 'by nine o'clock (in the morning of August 15,) it burnt 'with great fury in three different places, which could not 'be extinguished, as the houses were closely built, and the 'streets narrow. The air appeared like a shower of fiery 'rain and hail. The surprized inhabitants had not time to 'think of any thing, but of saving their lives, by getting 'into the open fields. I, as well as many others, had hardly 'time to put on my clothes. As I was leading my wife, with 'a young child in her arms, and driving my other children 'and servants before me, who were almost naked, having 'ever since the first fright run about as they got out of bed, 'the bombs and red hot bullets fell round about us; but, 'thank God, I and my family received no hurt. The bombs, 'in bursting, dashed the houses, and every thing that was in 'their way, to pieces. Thus I went out of one misery into 'another, leaving every individual thing behind me. Every 'body that could, got out of the town as fast as possible; and 'the crowd of naked, and in the highest degree wretched 'people, was vastly great. Among the women were many of 'distinction, who had neither shoes nor stockings, nor hardly 'any thing else on, thinking of nothing but of saving their 'lives. When I had seen my family in the open field, I en-'deavoured to return to save something, if possible, but in 'vain. I could not force my way through the multitude of 'people, thronging out at the gate, some few with horses 'and carriages, and others with sick and bed-ridden on their 'backs. The bombs, cannon-balls, and red hot bullets, fell 'so thick, that every body thought themselves happy if they 'could escape. Many thousands are made miserable, inhabi-'tants as well as strangers; for many from the open country,

'and

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the walls, which were built in the old manner, did not promiſe a ſucceſsful defence; the Ruſſians had poſted themſelves in the ſuburbs; and in the firing of the town, the principal magazine of the beſieged was blown up [64].

'and defenceleſs towns in Pruſſia, Pomerania, and the New 'Marche, had fled hither with their moſt valuable effects, 'when the Ruſſians entered the Pruſſian territories, in hopes 'of ſecurity; ſo that a great many, who were a little while 'ago poſſeſſed of conſiderable fortunes, are now reduced to 'beggary. On the roads nothing was to be ſeen but miſery, 'and nothing to be heard, but ſuch cries and lamentations, as 'were enough to move even the ſtones; as no one knew where 'to get a morſel of bread, nor what to do for farther ſubſiſt-'ence. The neighbouring towns and villages were ſoon 'filled. I ſtaid till next day at Goltz, to wait the farther 'event of things; but was ſoon informed, that, amongſt the 'other buildings, the great magazine, the governor's houſe, 'the church, the palace, the ſtore, and artillery houſes, were 'deſtroyed. In ſhort, the old and new town, the ſuburbs, 'and the great bridge over the Oder, as well as all the others, 'were reduced to aſhes.'—'The writings of all the colleges 'are entirely deſtroyed, as well as the valuable archives of 'the country; which is an immenſe loſs.'—'The fire was ſo 'furious, that the cannon in the ſtore and artillery-houſes were 'all melted; and the loaded bombs, and cartridges for can-'non and muſquets, with a large quantity of gunpowder, 'went off at once with a moſt horrible exploſion. After the 'bridges were conſumed, the piles and ſterlings were burnt 'to the water's edge.'—'The fury of the enemy fell almoſt 'entirely on the inhabitants; and they did not begin to batter 'the fortifications, except with a few ſhot, till the 17th, after 'the reſt was all deſtroyed.' London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 670, 671.

[64] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.

THE

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THE king of Pruſſia, alarmed at the progreſs of the Ruſſians in his dominions, now reſolved to quit Bohemia, and to go himſelf in perſon to oppoſe them. On the twenty-fifth of July, he quitted his camp at Koningſgratz; and on the twenty-eighth he paſſed the Metau. He was ſomewhat harraſſed in his march by detachments of Auſtrian troops; but, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the Pruſſians had the advantage. On the firſt of Auguſt, the Pruſſian army arrived at Skalitz; and on the eleventh of the month encamped at Landſhut. From thence the king ſet out with a detachment, and arrived at Franckfort on the Oder on the twenty-ſecond. In a letter written the day after, by an officer who was with him, are the following paſſages: 'Yeſterday the king 'entered with us into this city. He rode before 'the cavalry, who followed him with drawn 'ſwords. None of us knew whether we were to 'ſtop here, or whether we were to proceed far- 'ther. But when the king came before the 'door of a houſe, wherein a clergyman's widow 'lived, he commanded the men to halt, and or- 'dered an adjutant to go in, and tell her that 'he intended to lodge there. The widow im- 'mediately appeared; and, kneeling, ſaid, that 'her habitation was too mean for the reception 'of ſo great a monarch, as her rooms were ſmall 'and inconvenient. The king raiſed her with 'great affability, and deſired her to let him have

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'one of her beſt rooms. He then entered the 'houſe; but ſoon after came out again, and or- 'dered the troops to march. As they paſſed, 'we could diſtinctly hear every ſhot fired againſt 'Cuſtrin. I obſerved, that the king took a 'pinch of ſnuff at every report; and even through 'that air of intrepidity, which never abandons 'this prince, I could perceive the ſenſations of 'compaſſion towards that unfortunate city, and 'an eager impatience to fly to its relief. After 'the troops had entered their quarters, the king 'partook of a *kalteſchale* [L], with prince Mau- 'rice of Anhalt-Deſſau, and general Seidlitz. 'Orders were then given for our marching the 'following morning; but his majeſty having 'afterwards received intelligence by one of his 'ſpies, we ſet out again at two in the morning. 'Till that time the king ſat up writing in his 'chamber, accompanied by the prince and the 'general[65].'

THE king proceeded on his march, and cauſed a bridge to be thrown over the Oder at Gataviſe, over which his troops paſſed, and having made a junction with the army under count Dohna, he

[L] This is ſaid to be a kind of caudle, made of wine and biſcuit, with lemons and ſugar.

[65] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 258, 259. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 135, 136.

then

then took up his quarters at Golaſſan [M]. Here some of his huſſars brought in ten or a dozen Coſſacks, whom they had taken priſoners. The king ſeemed ſtruck with the ſingularity of their appearance; and, after ſurveying them for ſome time with great attention, he ſaid to major-general Wedel, who was with him, 'Look at 'theſe men, and ſee againſt what ſtrange crea-'tures I am obliged to fight.' From Golaſſan the king proceeded to Dirmitzel, where he encamped; and, having joined his army under count Dohna, he made his diſpoſitions for attacking the Ruſſians the next day [N], which was the twenty-fifth of Auguſt. CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

WHEN the Ruſſians received information of the approach of the king of Pruſſia, they abandoned the ſiege of Cuſtrin, and took poſt near the villages of Zwicker and ZORNDORFF. Frederick intended to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by which he

[M] At this place the king reviewed ſome freſh Pruſſian troops, who had been quartered here, and obſerving them to be neatly dreſſed, and powdered, he ſaid, 'Theſe ſoldiers are 'finely powdered, and look extremely well. I have brought 'ſome with me who do not make quite ſo good an appear-'ance; but they have been much uſed to the ſmell of gun-'powder.'

[N] It is ſaid, that in the evening before the battle of Zorndorff, Frederick amuſed himſelf with correcting three ſtanzas of an ode of Rouſſeau, which he conceived to require ſome alterations. Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 259.

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hoped to throw them into confuſion. But in this he found himſelf diſappointed. General Fermor, who commanded the Ruſſian army, had foreſeen his purpoſe; and as the ground did not permit the Ruſſians to extend greatly in length, they threw themſelves into a ſquare body, compoſed of four lines, forming a front almoſt equal on every ſide, and on every ſide ſurrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize [66]. In this poſition the Ruſſians, who were greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, waited their attack.

THE battle began at nine o'clock in the morning, near the village of ZORNDORFF, about ſix miles from Cuſtrin. The Pruſſians commenced the action by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Ruſſians, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for near two hours. Great havock was made by the fire of the Pruſſians; but the Ruſſians ſuſtained it with the utmoſt intrepidity. They fell in their ranks; and new regiments ſtill preſſed forward, to fill their places, and to ſupply new ſlaughter. But when the firſt line had fired away all their charges, they ruſhed forward ſo furiouſly on the Pruſſian infantry, that they compelled them to retire in diſorder. This occaſioned a conſiderable opening in the Pruſſian line, and left their whole left flank uncovered. At this critical period, general Seidlitz, with the

[66] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.

cavalry

cavalry under his command, rode up full gallop againſt the center of the Ruſſian army, whereby he ſeparated their two wings, and forced the left to fall back into the moraſſes that lay behind it. Having routed the Ruſſian cavalry, general Seidlitz fell upon the flank of their infantry with great fury: but they ſtill continued to ſtand their ground [o], and terrible havock was made amongſt them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but likewiſe by the cannon, which were loaded with grape ſhot, and being very ably

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[o] In a letter from a general officer in the Pruſſian army, who was preſent in this action, publiſhed in the London Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 487, 488,) are the following paſſages: 'Fifteen thouſand of the Ruſſians covered the field of battle; 'but while we thought ourſelves ſecure of victory, they were 'yet preparing to diſpute it.'—'The king's troops, far from 'being diſpirited by the fatigues of the day, thought of no-'thing but ſignalizing themſelves by their bravery. Animated 'more and more, they ſurmounted all difficulties, and at 'length overcame the obſtinacy of the enemy. The ſetting 'ſun terminated to our advantage the laſt maſſacre, by a 'ſhower of bullets, and an attack with the bayonets fixed at 'the end of the muſquets. Then the great ſuperiority of the 'enemies only ſerved to augment their loſs.'—'One might 'wonder at the diſproportion of the loſs on both ſides, had 'we not obſerved, that the enemy's artillery was ſo ill ſerved, 'that the balls went ten or twelve feet over our heads, only 'a few cannon, charged with cartridge ſhot, did ſome execu-'tion againſt us.'—'They give us more trouble in killing, 'than in overcoming them; for a ſhot through the body is 'not ſufficient to make them leave off fighting, unleſs the 'vital parts are touched.'

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ſerved, did great execution. The diſtance of 2409 paces between the two lines of the Ruſſian right wing, together with the duſt and ſmoke, alſo hindered the Ruſſians from diſtinguiſhing between their own men and the Pruſſians; ſo that great numbers of the Ruſſians were killed by their own men[67]. In this confuſion ſome of them plundered their own baggage, intoxicated themſelves with brandy, and mutinied againſt their officers. Towards evening the confuſion among them increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they would probably have been entirely routed, but one of the Ruſſian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turn againſt them, rallied a ſelect body of troops, and made a vigorous impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſians. This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtrongly to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſians enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt on the right. The action laſted upwards of eleven hours, and the ſlaughter of the Ruſſians was great; for the Pruſſians were much exaſperated againſt them, on account of the ravages which they had committed in their country; and they are alſo ſaid to have received orders to give the Ruſſians no quarter[68].

[67] Letter from a Swediſh officer, who ſerved in the Ruſſian army, to general Hamilton, publiſhed in the Grand Magazine, vol. I. p. 589.

[68] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 75.

THE

THE king of Pruſſia remained the whole night, with his army, upon the field of battle, and took the neceſſary meaſures to improve the advantage that he had obtained. The next morning, he again advanced towards the enemy, and the cannonading was renewed. But it did not laſt long; for the Ruſſians were obliged to continue their retreat, abandoning their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards[79]. Frederick gave them no time to recover themſelves, but cauſed them to be harraſſed on all ſides during the whole day, and a great carnage enſued. In the evening, the king cauſed his infantry to encamp, but ordered his cavalry and huſſars to continue to purſue and harraſs the enemy. The Ruſſians afterwards encamped themſelves advantageouſly three leagues from the field of battle, where they continued till the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and then retreated towards Poland, by Landſberg, after ſetting fire to the greateſt part of their baggage[70].

THE king of Pruſſia ſays, that the Ruſſians loſt, in the battle of Zorndorff, 'one hundred 'and three pieces of cannon, twenty-ſeven pair 'of colours and ſtandards, eighty-two officers, 'among whom were five generals, about two 'thouſand priſoners, and at leaſt fifteen thouſand

[69] London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 470, from the London Gazette Extraordinary of Sept. 8, 1758.

[70] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 341.

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men left dead on the field; for the cavalry gave them no quarter. The Pruſſian army loſt M. Ziethen, general of the cuiraſſiers, ſixty officers killed or wounded, and about twelve hundred men, with twenty pieces of cannon[71].' Among the officers killed were two aids du camp, who attended the perſon of the king, which he had expoſed to all the dangers of the day. It is ſaid, that Frederick often expoſed himſelf to ſo much danger in his battles, that even the common ſoldiers ſometimes exclaimed againſt it, and endeavoured to prevent it; calling out to him, 'If your majeſty is loſt, we are all loſt of courſe[72].' Beſides the military trophies, which were taken from the Ruſſians in the battle of Zorndorff [P], the Pruſſians alſo made themſelves maſters of the Ruſſian military cheſt, which contained nine hundred thouſand rubles[73]. The king had a

[71] Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome I. p. 309, 310.

[72] Anecdotes and characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 25, 26.

[P] Frederick ſays, 'During the battle, and the ſucceeding day, it was a dreadful ſpectacle to ſee all the neighbouring villages in flames, which the Coſſacks had ſet on fire, and who here brought with them every calamity with which human nature can be afflicted. The Pruſſian artillery, however, played with ſucceſs, for it was almoſt impoſſible for the gunners to miſs the great maſs that the enemy formed; while that of the Ruſſians fired without the leaſt effect.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome I. p. 310, 311.

[73] London Mag. ut ſupra, from the London Gazette.

high

high ſenſe of the importance of general Seidlitz's ſervices in this action; and when the Britiſh miniſter, Sir Andrew Mitchel [Q], complimented

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[Q] Dr. Zimmerman ſays, 'No foreign miniſter ever acquired Frederick's eſteem and friendſhip to ſuch a degree as the Britiſh ambaſſador, Sir Andrew Mitchel. He followed him through the whole of the ſeven years war, and ſtood often at his ſide in the moſt bloody battles. Near Zorndorff he was cloſe to the king, when he attacked the formidable ſquare, formed by the Ruſſian army under general Fermor. The Ruſſians fired with chain-ſhot upon that very ſpot where Frederick was with Mitchel. The king turned to him, and ſaid, "My dear Mitchel, this is not your "place." "Is it your's, ſire?" anſwered Mitchel. "I "am ſent to your majeſty, and my place is wherever you are "pleaſed to be." Amidſt this ſlaughter, near Zorndorff, Mitchel never left the king a moment, except towards the cloſe of the battle, when he followed general Schwerin, who, with the regiment of gens d'armes made an attack upon ſome Ruſſian infantry, and a great number of Coſſacks. Theſe troops had taken poſt in a village, and attempted to maintain it. Schwerin diſperſed them. Two thouſand Coſſacks alighted, left their horſes, and threw themſelves into a large ſtone building near Quarzen, deſtined for the houſing of ſheep. Hence they fired through every hole, and abſolutely refuſed to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. At laſt the roof, under which lay a great deal of hay and ſtraw, caught fire, tumbled down, and the gallant Coſſacks were, every one of them, either choaked or burnt to death. I'll keep to myſelf the reflection which Mitchel made on this fire. Suffice it to ſay, that Mitchel never left the king, who ſcarcely ever loved any man like him, and was never more ſincerely beloved than by this truly excellent Engliſhman.

The

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mented him upon his victory, saying, 'Heaven 'has granted to your majesty another glorious 'day,' Frederick replied, 'Without Seidlitz, 'it would have been a gloomy one[74].'

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, general Fermor, who was slightly wounded in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. He also presented to his Prussian majesty the request of general Browne [R], who was wounded, and much weakened by the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue

'The king was so very fond of his company in the seven 'years war, that often, many weeks together, he dined and 'supped with no one but Mitchel. The day before the glo- 'rious battle of Lignitz, fought at a period so dreadfully cri- 'tical, Frederick entreated his friend Mitchel, as Cato did 'his in Utica, to withdraw from him. Mitchel burnt all his 'papers; for he thought that all was lost. But he did not leave 'the hero; who, by a complete victory over Laudohn, res- 'cued himself once more from impending perdition.' Select Views of the Life, Reign, and Character of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, translated from the German of Dr. Zimmerman, by Major Neuman, vol. I. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

[74] Anecdotes and characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 141.

[R] General Browne, who was second in command in the Russian army, was a Scotsman; and general Fermor, who had the chief command, was of Scottish extraction.

of

of which he could be removed to a place, where he ſhould find ſuch accommodation as his ſituation required. Count Dohna returned an anſwer to the Ruſſian general, in which he acquainted him, that as the king his maſter had gained the battle, and remained maſter of the field, he would not fail to give the neceſſary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both ſides. A ſuſpenſion of arms was declined, but the requeſt of general Browne was granted; and the count concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Ruſſian troops ſtill continued to commit, in plundering and burning the Pruſſian villages. In the courſe of this campaign, the Coſſacks are ſaid to have been guilty of great cruelties, killing many of the inhabitants of the towns and villages, ſetting fire to their houſes, and committing rapes upon their wives and daughters.

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When the king came to Cuſtrin, he ſeemed much affected with the ruinous appearance of the city; and he ſaid to ſome of the inhabitants, 'My children, I could not come ſooner, or this 'misfortune ſhould not have happened: have 'but patience, and I will cauſe every thing to 'be rebuilt.' The perſon who had been commandant at Cuſtrin, when the Ruſſians firſt came there, was underſtood not to have adopted the proper meaſures for the defence of the place. He was ſuperſeded; but when the king came to Cuſtrin,

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Cuſtrin, he preſented himſelf before him, and endeavoured to apologize for his conduct. The king coolly replied: 'I make no complaints 'againſt you: it is myſelf who was chiefly to 'blame, in appointing you to ſuch an office.'

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The king of Pruſſia, having defeated the Ruſſians at Zorndorff, marches into Luſatia.—He is ſurprized by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of marechal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobreſchutz, and afterwards marches into Sileſia, and raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs, and that of Coſel.—Marechal Daun beſieges Dreſden, and part of the ſuburbs deſtroyed by the Pruſſian governor.—The king marches into Saxony, and raiſes the ſiege of Dreſden.—Military operations of the Swedes.—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of Leipſic.—Military operations in the electorate of Hanover, and in Weſtphalia.

IT was no ſooner known by the Auſtrians, that the king of Pruſſia had quitted Bohemia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, than marechal Daun, at the head of the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, marched towards the Elbe, with a view of ſurrounding the king's brother, prince Henry, and with the hope of making themſelves maſters of Saxony. Marechal Daun arrived with his army at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe; and by ſtationing himſelf there, he preſerved to himſelf an eaſy communication with the army of the empire. He was alſo

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alſo thereby enabled to interrupt the communication between Bautzen and Dreſden, and to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the confines of Brandenburgh. When the duke de Deuxponts had entered Saxony, he made himſelf maſter of the fortreſs of Koningſtein, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pirna. Prince Henry, who diſplayed the talents of a very able general, had alſo encamped himſelf in a moſt advantageous manner at Dippoldiſwalda, ſo as to cover Dreſden, and command the courſe of the Elbe; but, from the number of his enemies, his ſituation neceſſarily became extremely critical.

THE king of Pruſſia, who knew the dangers which threatened his brother, and the army under his command, immediately reſolved, after the battle of Zornhorff, to march to his relief. On the ſecond of September, he quitted his camp at Cuſtrin, leaving the farther proſecution of hoſtilities againſt the Ruſſians to be conducted by count Dohna. He marched with great rapidity, at the head of twenty-four battalions, and a conſiderable part of his cavalry; on the ninth of the month, he arrived at Groſſen-hayn; and, two days after, he joined his brother near Dreſden.

MARECHAL Daun, who had no expectations of this junction, now thought proper to give up the deſign which he had formed of attacking

prince

prince Henry; and, retiring from the neighbourhood of Dreſden, he fell back as far as Zittau. General Laudohn abandoned all his advantages in Lower Luſatia, and drew near to marechal Daun; while the army of the empire ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the ſtrong poſt at Pirna, but without attempting any thing farther. Thus had the Pruſſian monarch, in the courſe of leſs than three weeks, by his extraordinary exertions, intrepid ſpirit, and indefatigable diligence, fought and defeated a ſuperior body of his enemies, in one extremity of his dominions, and baffled, without fighting, another ſuperior body in the other extremity, in their deſign of attacking prince Henry, and gaining poſſeſſion of Dreſden[75]. CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

AFTER various movements for protecting Brandenburgh from the incurſions of the Auſtrians, and cutting off their communication with Bohemia, Frederick took poſt in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; from whence he could command both Miſnia and Luſatia, and at the ſame time preſerve a communication with the army of prince Henry[76]. The Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies kept the moſt watchful eye upon each other's motions. Matters were now brought to ſuch a criſis, that a battle appeared inevitable, and equally deſired

[75] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 54.

[76] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 315.

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by both parties; as an event that would determine whether the Auſtrians ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this ſtate of affairs, marechal Daun reſolved to act offenſively, and formed a ſcheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruſſian army by ſurprize. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the Pruſſians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of HOCHKIRCHEN, which was only guarded by a few free companies [s]. Having communicated his deſign to the prince de Deuxponts, he reſolved to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his army in this important ſervice. He took his meaſures with admirable ſecrecy and circumſpection, making ſuch movements as led the Pruſſians to ſuppoſe that he could have no deſign to attack them; and then ſet out at midnight, in a very dark and foggy night, with his troops in three columns, and marched towards the right of the king of Pruſſia's camp. The firſt care of the Auſtrian troops was to take poſſeſſion of the hill that commanded HOCHKIRCHEN, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free

[s] The free companies were a kind of Militia, and generally much worſe diſciplined than the regular troops.

companies poſted there [T]. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, on the fourteenth of October, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury. For notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with extraordinary expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence [77]. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the king exerted all his perſonal activity, ſagacity, and military ſkill, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering

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[T] One account ſays, that the march of the Auſtrians 'was made with ſo much ſecrecy and promptitude, that the 'Pruſſians perceived nothing of their danger, till the moment 'when they ſaw the enemy in their camp. It appeared, that 'the orders of the king for guarding the camp had been badly 'executed. The Pruſſians had ſcarcely time to lay hold of 'their arms. In the midſt of the confuſion, which was in'creaſed by the darkneſs of the night, ſome thouſands of the 'Pruſſians paſſed from ſleep to death, and many were killed 'by their own countrymen. But, at the break of day, the 'Auſtrians met with a very ſtrong reſiſtance.' Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 82, 83.

[77] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 337.

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poſitions, ſtrengthening weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy [78].

THOUGH the Auſtrians made their chief attack upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, yet marechal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king of Pruſſia, made another attack upon the left, which was ſuſtained with difficulty, and effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where marechal Keith oppoſed the enemy with the utmoſt gallantry, under the greateſt diſadvantages. At nine in the morning, that able general, who had before been wounded, received a ſecond wound, which put an end to his life [u]. Prince Francis of Brunſwick

[78] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 337.

[u] Dr. Smollett ſays, that 'Field-marechal Keith, who 'arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, 'diſapproved of the ſituation of the Pruſſian army, and remon-'ſtrated to the king on that ſubject. In conſequence of his 'advice, a certain general was ſent with a detachment to take 'poſſeſſion of the heights that commanded the village of 'Hochkirchen; but by ſome fatality he miſcarried. 'Marechal 'Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis 'of Brunſwick, in a houſe belonging to a Saxon major. When 'the firſt alarm was given in the night, he inſtantly mounted 'his horſe, aſſembled a body of the neareſt troops, and marched 'directly to the place that was attacked. 'The Auſtrians had 'taken poſſeſſion of the hill, which the Pruſſian officer was 'ſent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon. 'Then 'they made themſelves maſters of the village, in which the

'free

wick alſo had his head ſhot off by a cannon ball, as he mounted his horſe; prince Maurice of Anhalt

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'free companies of Anginelli had been poſted. Marechal 'Keith immediately conceived the deſign of the Auſtrian 'general, and knowing the importance of the place, thither 'directed all his efforts. He in perſon led on the troops to 'the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; 'but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring 'down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. 'He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained 'poſſeſſion of the place. Being again repulſed by freſh rein-'forcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered 'the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered 'it to be ſet on fire. Thus he kept the Auſtrians at bay, and 'maintained a deſperate conflict againſt the flower of the 'Auſtrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the 'Pruſſians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. 'During the whole diſpute he rallied the troops in perſon, 'charged at their head, and expoſed his life in the hotteſt of 'a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He 'found it neceſſary to exert himſelf in this manner, the better 'to remove the bad effects of the confuſion that prevailed, 'and in order to inſpirit the troops to their utmoſt exertion 'by his voice, preſence, and example. Even when dan-'gerouſly wounded, at eight in the morning, he refuſed to 'quit the field; but continued to ſignalize himſelf in the 'midſt of the carnage until nine, when he received a ſecond 'ſhot in his breaſt, and fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of Mr. 'Tibay, an Engliſh volunteer, who had attended him during 'the whole campaign.' The body of the marechal was after-wards 'ſtripped by the Auſtrian ſtragglers, and lay expoſed 'and undiſtinguiſhed on the field of battle. In this ſituation 'it was perceived by count Laſcy, ſon of the general of that 'name, with whom marechal Keith had ſerved in Ruſſia.

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Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner; and many other officers were either killed or diſabled. The Auſtrians continued to proſecute their attack with ſucceſſive reinforcements, and redoubled reſolution; ſo that, at about ten in the morning, Frederick found himſelf obliged to retreat to Dobreſchutz, about half a league from the field of battle. But though the Pruſſian troops had never been properly drawn up in order, and were embarraſſed by their tents, which continued ſtanding during the whole action, the king's retreat was performed in good order, under the cover of a great fire from the Pruſſian artillery, which on this occaſion was placed in the center of his van[79]. The Auſtrians, however, took part of the king's baggage, all his tents, ſome military trophies, and many pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Pruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to ſeven thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians is ſaid to have been not much inferior. Frederick himſelf was ſlightly

' This young count had been the marechal's pupil, and revered ' him as his military father, though employed in the Auſtrian ' ſervice. He recognized the body by the large ſcar of a ' dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his ' thigh at the ſiege of Oczakow, and could not help burſting ' into tears to ſee his honoured maſter thus extended at his ' feet, a naked, lifeleſs, and deſerted corpſe. He forthwith ' cauſed the body to be covered and interred.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 339, 340.

[79] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 348.

wounded

wounded in the action[80]; and he ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of marechal Keith [x], who

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[80] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra, p. 83.

[x] JAMES KEITH, who was the younger ſon of George Keith, earl-marſhal of Scotland, was born in that kingdom, in the year 1698. He was initiated in the Latin language by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, well known for his excellent Rudiments of the Latin tongue; and was afterwards removed to the Mariſchal college at Aberdeen, which was founded by one of his anceſtors. He was ſeventeen years of age at the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, in which he joined with his brother, the earl-marſhal, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Being obliged to relinquiſh his country, he followed his brother into Spain, and obtained a commiſſion in the Iriſh brigade in that kingdom, then commanded by the duke of Ormond. In this ſituation he continued ten years, when finding no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, he obtained recommendations to Catharine I. empreſs of Ruſſia, who received him with marks of particular favour, and gave him a commiſſion of brigadier-general. He was afterwards made a major-general; and, in 1734, was raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-general, and went with the Ruſſian troops into Germany. In 1737, he ſerved againſt the Turks, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. On the return of peace, the empreſs Anne ſent him to the court of London, as her ambaſſador extraordinary. But when he appeared at court, he was obliged to aſſume the appearance of a Ruſſian, both in dreſs and language; for king George II. would not permit him to ſpeak at an audience without an interpreter. When he had finiſhed his embaſſy, he returned again to Peterſburgh, where he was greatly careſſed by the czarina. In 1741, and 1742, he commanded the Ruſſian troops againſt the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanſtrand; and alſo diſpoſſeſſed the Swedes of the iſle of Aland in the Baltick.

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who had very diſtinguiſhed military talents, and for whom he had a great perſonal eſteem and regard.

THOUGH the king of Pruſſia had been ſurprized at HOCHKIRCHEN, in a manner ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected, and though his loſs had been conſiderable, yet the manner, in which he conducted

After the peace of Abo, in 1743, he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a ſucceſſor to the crown. But the ſplendour in which he appeared on this occaſion at Stockholm greatly reduced his finances; and he was even obliged to pawn his jewels, to keep up the dignity of his appearance. On his return to Ruſſia, he was honoured with a marechal's ſtaff; but finding the pay of that country not ſufficient to ſupport his rank, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Pruſſia to enter into his ſervice. In 1747, he quitted the Ruſſian ſervice, and entered into that of Pruſſia, as field-marechal; and in 1749, he was made a knight of the order of the black eagle, and governor of Berlin, with a penſion of 12,000 dollars, beſides his pay. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Pruſſian ſervice, in the campaigns of 1756, 1757, and 1758; but being killed at the battle of Hochkirchen, he was decently buried by the curate of that village. His body was afterwards removed to Berlin, by order of the king of Pruſſia, and interred with great funeral honours; and a ſtatue was likewiſe erected to his memory in that city.

General Lloyd ſays of marechal Keith, that 'he was middle-ſized, had a very martial countenance, and was a humane and benevolent man;' and count Algarotti ſays, that 'he had ſtudied his profeſſion with the judgment and penetration of an Engliſhman;' and that 'in the midſt of arms, he always found means to cultivate letters.'

himſelf

himſelf on this occaſion, afforded a new diſplay of his abilities. His troops had been ſurprized and attacked in a dark night, and by ſuperior numbers; and when they had recourſe to their arms, they were almoſt naked, and in the utmoſt confuſion; but they had notwithſtanding made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and maintained the fight for nearly five hours. The king himſelf exhibited uncommon generalſhip, as well as the utmoſt intrepidity; and he conducted his retreat in admirable order, and without being purſued by the enemy. CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

THE ſurprize of the king of Pruſſia at Hochkirchen was made a great ſubject of triumph at Vienna; and it even afforded no inconſiderable degree of ſatisfaction to the then pope, Clement XIII. who had been much pleaſed with the union between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which he thought might be beneficial to the intereſts of the Catholic religion. He, therefore, ſent his bleſſing to marechal Daun, together with a ſword and a hat, on both of which he alſo beſtowed his benediction. Theſe marks of favour from his holineſs to the Auſtrian general were a ſubject of much pleaſantry to the Pruſſian monarch; who afterwards frequently ſtiled Daun 'the bleſſed general,' and 'the man with the 'papal cap.' But, in the midſt of this facetiouſneſs, Frederick appears to have had a great diſlike to Daun; he was hurt at the advantages

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which he had repeatedly gained over him; and ſeems, in his Hiſtory of his own Times, to have been very little inclined to do juſtice to the military talents of this great general.

AFTER his ſurprize at Hochkirchen, Frederick remained with his army ten days at Dobreſchutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Auſtrians to a ſecond engagement; but this, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, was declined by marechal Daun, who kept his forces advantageouſly poſted on eminences planted with artillery. In the mean time, the Auſtrian generals, Harſche and de Ville, had formed the ſiege of Neiſs, and the blockade of Coſel; and as the king could not bring count Daun to an action, he reſolved to march immediately to the relief of Sileſia. Committing, therefore, the care of Saxony to his brother prince Henry, he quitted his camp at Dobreſchutz, and marched to Gorlitz, without the leaſt interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Sileſia with his uſual rapidity, notwithſtanding all the activity of general Laudohn, who, with a corps of twenty-four thouſand men, continually harraſſed his rear-guard. Count Daun not only ſent this detached corps to retard the king in his march, but, at the ſame time, by another route, detached a ſtrong reinforcement to the army of the beſiegers. Frederick, however, on his arrival at Neiſs, obliged the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege, leaving a conſiderable quantity

of

of military ſtores behind them. He alſo compelled the Auſtrians to abandon the blockade of Coſel; and the armies, under the generals Harſche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia. CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

IN the mean time, count Daun having received intelligence, that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was conſiderably weakened, by detachments that had been ſent to the king, he himſelf marched thither, hoping, in the abſence of Frederick, to be able to drive the prince out of that country. He had formed, indeed, deſigns which were ſtill more extenſive; for he propoſed to reduce Dreſden, Leipſic, and Torgau, at the ſame time. The firſt, with the main body under his own direction; the ſecond, by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick. In execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he paſſed at Pirna; and on the ſixth of November he appeared within ſight of Dreſden, at the head of ſixty thouſand men. He encamped the next day at Lockowitz, and the day following his advanced troops attacked the Pruſſian huſſars and independent battalions, which were poſted at Streiſſen and Gruene-Wiefe.

COUNT Schmettau, who commanded the Pruſſian garriſon, amounting to ten thouſand men, being apprehenſive, that the Auſtrian troops might enter the ſuburbs, he poſted colonel Itzenplitz,

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plitz, with ſeven hundred men, in the redoubts that ſurrounded the ſuburbs, that in caſe of emergency they might ſupport the irregulars. But as the houſes that conſtituted the ſuburbs were generally ſo high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combuſtibles, and gave notice to the magiſtrates, that they would be ſet on fire, as ſoon as a ſingle Auſtrian ſhould appear within the place. This was a very alarming declaration to the inhabitants of theſe ſuburbs, which compoſed one of the moſt elegant towns in Europe. In theſe houſes, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the faſhionable and wealthy claſs of people reſided; and here a number of artiſts carried on a variety of curious manufactures. The magiſtrates beſought the forbearance of the Pruſſian governor, and repreſented, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempted from the horrors of devaſtation. Such of the royal family as ſtill remained at Dreſden, alſo joined their ſupplications to thoſe of the magiſtrates; and they implored him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and to allow at leaſt a ſecure reſidence to thoſe, who had been deprived of every thing elſe. But all entreaties were in vain. Count Schmettau told them, that their ſafety depended on marechal Daun; that if he made no attempts, the ſuburbs would be ſtill ſecure; but that if he took any farther

farther ſteps, the neceſſity of his maſter's ſervice, and his own honour, would compel him to act in a manner that was very contrary to the lenity of his own diſpoſition. CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

ON the ninth of the month, about noon, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon, repelled the huſſars, drove the independent battalions into the ſuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack the next day, gave orders for ſetting fire to a part of the ſuburbs, which was executed at three in the morning. More than two hundred and ſixty houſes were reduced to aſhes; a few perſons alſo loſt their lives, and many their whole ſubſtance [Y]. Marechal Daun remonſtrated againſt the Pruſſian governor's conduct in this tranſaction; but he maintained, that he was juſtified in his conduct by the laws of

[Y] An account of this conflagration, with ſome conſiderable exaggerations, was preſented by the Saxon miniſter to the diet of the empire. This piece was printed; but it was afterwards proved, that ſeveral of the facts ſtated in it were not true; and theſe exaggerations of the Saxon miniſter furniſhed the Pruſſian miniſters with a plauſible pretext, for exclaiming againſt the means, which, they ſaid, were employed 'to 'blacken the Pruſſian cauſe.' It was the more impolitic in the Saxon miniſter to publiſh any miſrepreſentations upon the ſubject, as the conduct of the king of Pruſſia reſpecting Saxony certainly required no exaggeration.

war;

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war [z]; that he had orders to defend the town to the laſt extremity; and that if the Auſtrian general ſhould think proper farther to attack the place, he would defend himſelf from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from houſe to houſe, and would even make his laſt effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city.

THE conduct of the Pruſſian governor, as well as of his royal maſter, reſpecting this tranſaction, has been vindicated by ſeveral writers. If the ſuburbs had not been conſumed, there would, it is ſaid, have been danger, that the Auſtrians might have taken Dreſden from the king of Pruſſia. It ſhould, however, have been remem-

[z] Dr. Smollett ſays, that the Pruſſian governor 'excuſed 'the deſtruction of the ſuburbs as a neceſſary meaſure, autho-'rized by the practice of war; but he would have found it a 'difficult taſk to reconcile this ſtep to the laws of eternal 'juſtice, and far leſs to the dictates of common humanity. 'Indeed, if the ſcene had happened in an enemy's country, or 'if no other ſtep could have ſaved the lives and liberties of 'himſelf and his garriſon, ſuch a deſperate remedy might 'have ſtood excuſed by the law of nature and of nations; but 'on this occaſion he occupied a neutral city, over which he 'could exerciſe no other power and authority but that which 'he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at 'all reduced to the neceſſity of ſacrificing the place to his 'own ſafety, inaſmuch as he might have retired unmoleſted, 'by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he 'did not demand.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 343.

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bered, that Dreſden [A] did not belong to the king of Pruſſia, and that he had obtained poſ- CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758. ſeſſion

[A] The city of DRESDEN has never recovered from what it ſuffered during this war, in conſequence of the invaſion of the king of Pruſſia, and his bombardment of it, after it was taken poſſeſſion of by the army of the empire. Dr. Burney ſays, 'During the reign of Auguſtus III. this city was re-'garded by the reſt of Europe as the Athens of modern times. 'All the arts, but particularly thoſe of muſic, poetry, and 'painting, were loved and cheriſhed by that prince, with a 'zeal and munificence, greater than can be found in the 'brighteſt period of antient hiſtory. But, perhaps, ſome part 'of the late and preſent diſtreſſes of this country, have ori-'ginated in this exceſſive magnificence. The gardens of the 'late miniſter, count Bruhl, which are ſituated on the banks 'of the Elbe, and open to the public, command a delightful 'proſpect of that river, of its hilly and fertile banks, towards 'Pirna, and of the new town, and beautiful bridge, leading 'to it. A moſt magnificent and elegant temple in theſe 'gardens was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, in which it ſtill 'lies, during the Pruſſian bombardment; and the Saxons 'accuſe his Pruſſian majeſty of carrying perſonal reſentment 'againſt their miniſter ſo far, as to order his engineer to point 'his artillery at the temple and other buildings, as well as 'ſtatues in theſe gardens. However this may have been, not 'a ſtreet of this once charming city has recovered the deva-'ſtations of the laſt war.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 59, 60, 61. edit. 1775.

In another place, the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of Dreſden, ſays, 'Every one here is in the utmoſt indigence.— 'Moſt of the nobility and gentry are too much impoveriſhed, 'to be able to afford to learn, or to let their children learn 'muſic. The Saxons of old, ſo remarkable for patience, 'induſtry, and probity, are now reduced to knavery and

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ſeſſion of it only by violence and by injuſtice. He could, therefore, have no right to conſume the houſes of the inhabitants, or to reduce them to indigence and miſery, in order to anſwer a temporary purpoſe to himſelf. But, in many other inſtances, what are called the laws of war have been repeatedly urged, in vindication of acts of unneceſſary and wanton barbarity; though if it be neceſſary that wars ſhould be continued among mankind, and if it be proper that there ſhould be LAWS OF WAR, it might notwithſtand-

'chicane, beyond the inhabitants of any other country. 'Dreſden is at preſent a melancholy reſidence: from being 'the ſeat of the Muſes, and habitation of pleaſure, it is now 'only a dwelling for beggary, theft, and wretchedneſs. No 'ſociety among the natives can be ſupported; all muſt re-'trench; the court is obliged to abandon genius and talents, 'and is, in turn, abandoned by them. Except the wretched 'comic opera, there is no one ſpectacle, but that of miſery, 'to be ſeen at Dreſden; no *guinguette*, no public diverſion 'in the city or ſuburbs, for the people, and not a boat or 'veſſel, either of pleaſure or buſineſs, can be deſcried on the 'river Elbe, which is here nearly as wide as the Thames at 'London-bridge.' Ibid. p. 58.

Dr. Burney alſo ſays of LEIPSIC, that 'this city has not 'yet recovered its rigorous treatment during the laſt war; 'and its celebrated fair, which uſed to be the rendezvous of 'the rich, the gay, and the induſtrious citizens of every 'quarter of the globe, as well as an aſſembly of the ſovereign 'princes and nobility of all the northern parts of Europe, 'ſeems now dwindled into a common mart, or quarterly fair, 'ſuch as is held in a ſmall Engliſh market town.' Ibid p. 72.

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ing be hoped, that, in an enlightened age, even these LAWS would undergo some revision, and be rendered more consonant to common sense, and common humanity.' CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

WHEN the king of Prussia had raised the sieges of Neiss and Cosel, he immediately marched back again into Saxony. At his approach, count Daun raised the siege of Dresden, where Frederick arrived on the twentieth of November, and expressed his approbation of the conduct of count Schmettau. The prince of Deuxponts also raised the siege of Leipsic, and both he and marechal Daun retired with their forces into Bohemia. The Austrian general, Haddick, was also obliged to abandon the siege of Torgau; as the Russians likewise were that of Colberg, in Prussian Pomerania, which they had invested in the course of their retreat, after the battle of Zorndorff. So that, by the extraordinary activity of the king of Prussia, and his generals, six sieges were raised nearly at the same time; that of Neiss, of Cosel, of Dresden, of Leipsic, of Torgau, and of Colberg[81].

THE Swedes, in the course of this year, had recovered Swedish Pomerania, and even made incursions into the Prussian territories. Their general, count Hamilton, had advanced as far as Fehrbellin, and sent out parties that raised contributions within twenty-five miles of Berlin, and

[81] Annual Register, vol. I. p. 62.

threw

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threw the inhabitants of that capital into great conſternation. General Wedel was thereupon ſent by the king from Dreſden to Berlin, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Swedes; and having aſſembled eleven thouſand men, he proceeded at the head of them againſt the Swediſh general; while the prince of Bevern, with five thouſand, advanced on the other ſide from Stettin. At their approach, the Swediſh commander retired, after having left a garriſon of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes diſputed the ground from houſe to houſe with great reſolution, he at laſt drove them out of the town, with the loſs of one half their number, either killed or taken priſoners. After this, the body of the Swediſh army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and retired to the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

DR. Smollett, ſpeaking of the military operations of Frederick, during the campaign of the year 1758, makes the following obſervations: 'The variety of fortune which the king of Pruſſia 'experienced in the courſe of this campaign was 'very remarkable; but the ſpirit of his conduct, 'and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether 'without example. In the former campaign, 'we were dazzled with the luſtre of his victories;

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'in this, we admire his fortitude and ſkill in 'ſtemming the different torrents of adverſity, 'and riſing ſuperior to his evil fortune. One 'can hardly without aſtoniſhment recollect, that 'in the courſe of a few months he invaded Mo- 'ravia, inveſted Olmutz, and was obliged to re- 'linquiſh that deſign; that he marched through 'an enemy's country, in the face of a great 'army, which, though it harraſſed him in his 'retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred 'miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in 'ſpite of his diſaſter at Olmutz, and the difficul- 'ties of ſuch a march, he penetrated into Bo- 'hemia, drove the enemy from Koningſgratz, 'executed another dangerous and fatiguing 'march to the Oder, defeated a great army of 'Ruſſians, and returned by the way of Saxony, 'from whence he drove the Auſtrian and Impe- 'rial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkir- 'chen, where he loſt two of his beſt generals, 'and was obliged to leave his tents ſtanding, he 'baffled the vigilance and ſuperior number of 'the victorious army, ruſhed like a whirlwind 'to the relief of Sileſia, invaded by an Auſtrian 'army, which he compelled to retire with pre- 'cipitation from that province; that, with the 'ſame rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to 'Saxony, and once more reſcued it from the 'hands of his adverſaries; that, in one cam- 'paign, he made twice the circuit of his domi-

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CHAP. XXVII. A. D. 1758.

nions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his poſſeſſions entire againſt the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of conſummate ſkill, and undaunted reſolution [82].'

FROM the beginning of the preſent war, Frederick had treated the inhabitants of Saxony with great injuſtice and inhumanity; and he now made the acts of cruelty and violence, which had been committed in his dominions by the Ruſſians, a pretence for increaſing the oppreſſions of the Saxons, and augmenting his exactions. On the twenty-ſecond of September, M. Borck, preſident of the Pruſſian military directory, ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In anſwer to this demand the magiſtrates repreſented, that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions before raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing farther ſupplies; and that the trade of the city was ſo ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed, that they could not even pay the ordinary taxes. But this remonſtrance made no impreſſion. On the twenty-fourth of the month, at five in the morning, the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets,

[82] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 347.

ſquares,

squares, and market-places of the city. The gates were afterwards shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city; and the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Hauss, who told them, that the king his master would have money; and, if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. The magistrates replied, 'We have no more money; we have nothing 'left but life; and we recommend ourselves to 'the king's mercy.' In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in the streets, and the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors; but the apprehended pillage was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and the inhabitants accordingly delivered up their money. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were still continued for some time in confinement [83].

CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1758.

On the second of December following, the Prussian directory of war sent a decree to the deputies of the states of Saxony, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage; and also

[83] Smollett, ut supra, p. 347, 348.

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acquainting them, 'That though the king of 'Pruſſia had hitherto treated the electorate of 'Saxony as a country which he had taken under 'his ſpecial protection, the face of affairs was 'now changed in ſuch a manner, that his majeſty 'would conſider it, for the future, only as a 'conquered country, out of which he had driven 'his enemies by force of arms[84].' The Ruſſians had ſeized in Pruſſia the eſtates and effects belonging to the Pruſſian officers; and a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. All the revenues of the Saxon miniſters were ſequeſtered; and they were themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw in twenty-four hours. Freſh contributions were required of the inhabitants of Leipſic; and the king cauſed the exchange of that city to be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and the merchants to be confined in narrow lodgings on ſtraw beds, till they were obliged, by their ſufferings, to draw bills for large ſums on their foreign correſpondents[85]: a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny, of which Frederick appears to have been the inventor [B].

SUCH

[84] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 388.

[85] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 64. Entick, p. 388, 389. Smollett, p. 349.

[B] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of the conduct of the king of Pruſſia on this occaſion, ſays, that it was 'much more ſuitable 'to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian ſophi towards a conquered 'people

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SUCH was the treatment which the inhabitants of Saxony received from the king of Pruſſia, who had declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, when he entered their country, that he did it with no hoſtile views againſt his Poliſh majeſty, or againſt his dominions; that his troops entered not Saxony as enemies; and that he marched them into it only for his own ſafety, and that of his dominions.

'people who profeſſed a different faith, than reconcileable to 'the character of a Proteſtant prince towards a peaceable na- 'tion of brethren, with whom he was connected by the com- 'mon ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had 'acted as declared enemies, and been ſubdued with arms in 'their hands, the exceſſes of war on the ſide of the conqueror 'ought to have ceaſed with the hoſtilities of the conquered, 'who, by ſubmitting to his ſway, would have become his 'ſubjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. 'To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had eſpouſed no quarrel, 'the barbarities committed by the Ruſſians, with whom he 'was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province a 'neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, 'and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a ſpecies 'of conduct founded on pretences, which overturn all right, 'and confound all reaſon.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 349, 350.

Dr. Smollett, though, in ſundry parts of his hiſtory, he has manifeſted himſelf to be a very exceptionable hiſtorian, has yet made many juſt remarks on the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, into whoſe tranſactions he has entered ſomewhat more copiouſly, than might naturally have been expected in a Hiſtory of England. He ſeems to have thought, that as the people of England paid ſo much for their connexion with the king of Pruſſia, they had the better claim to accurate information reſpecting his tranſactions.

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It has been pretended, that Frederick's treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony was juſtified by the neceſſity of his affairs. But it is certain, that no neceſſity ſubſiſted which could juſtify ſuch conduct as that which he exhibited; and whatever neceſſity there was, had been created by himſelf, and cannot, therefore, be juſtly urged in extenuation of his conduct.

IN the courſe of this year, Frederick alſo laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution; and having received information, that the duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke himſelf was obliged to retire to Lubeck. This prince afterwards preſented a memorial by his miniſter to the diet at Ratiſbon, in which he ſtated, that the Pruſſians had ravaged his country, and diſtreſſed it by grievous extortions; and that they had demanded ſuch quantities of proviſions, ſuch exorbitant ſums of money, and ſo many recruits, that his territories were greatly impoveriſhed, and almoſt depopulated by theſe oppreſſions [c].

EARLY

[c] In a piece publiſhed about this time, by the court of France, is the following paſſage: 'The Pruſſians have entered 'the territories of the duke of Mecklenburgh ſword in hand, 'without any reaſon, and in contempt of the public peace. 'The

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EARLY in the preſent year, the Hanoverian troops under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who was reinforced by a body of Pruſſian horſe, had great ſucceſs againſt the French in the electorate of Hanover. They puſhed the French from poſt to poſt, and obliged them to evacuate ſucceſſively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden. The town and caſtle of Hoya, on the Weſer, where the French attempted to make a ſtand, were alſo reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the ſame river, and made priſoners a garriſon of four thouſand men[86]. An Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of commodore Holmes, alſo compelled the French to abandon Embden, a ſea-port in Eaſt Frieſland, which they had taken from the king of Pruſſia.

THE duke de Richelieu, who had commanded the French troops in Germany, was now recalled from thence, and his place ſupplied by the count

'The duke they have obliged to ſeek refuge at Lubeck; they 'have taken poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes; and by deſpotic or-'ders, without any payment, have cauſed themſelves to be 'ſupplied with the corn and forage. The young men have 'been forced away from their parents, to enliſt them, and 'make them fight againſt their own ſovereign. In a word, 'without the ſlighteſt complaint againſt the duke of Meck-'lenburgh, his dutchy is treated by the Pruſſians like a con-'quered country.' Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 206.

[86] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 304.

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de Clermont, much to the ſatisfaction of the Hanoverians, among whom Richelieu was charged with having committed many acts of rapine and oppreſſion. The new general found the French army greatly reduced, by the accidents of war, and diſeaſes occaſioned by hard duty, ſevere weather, and the want of neceſſaries [D]. As he could not, therefore, prevent prince Ferdinand from executing his deſigns, nor even maintain the footing which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, the French troops retreated from their diſtant quarters with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind them all their ſick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers, who fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued. The inhabitants of Hanover, finding that the French intended to abandon that city, were apprehenſive of being ſubjected to violence and inſult; but they were happily diſappointed by the benevolent behaviour of the duke de Randan, the French governor.

[D] In a letter written by a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9, 1758, which was publiſhed by Mr. Entick, is the following paſſage: 'The French ſent, laſt 'year, 119,000 men from France, and now they have not '46,000 left. The reſt died in the hoſpitals, or fell in battles 'and ſkirmiſhes.' Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 134.

This

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This amiable nobleman, when he had orders to evacuate the place, inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, ordered the whole to be either ſold, at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city. He alſo employed all his vigilance to prevent his ſoldiers from committing any act of irregularity or violence, and was himſelf the laſt man that marched out of the town. So meritorious was his conduct, that he received a letter of thanks for it from the regency of Hanover; and when a day of thankſgiving was appointed, on account of their being delivered from their enemies, the Hanoverian clergy particularly celebrated in their ſermons the benevolence and generoſity of the duke de Randan [87].

THE French army having paſſed the Rhine, prince Ferdinand alſo paſſed that river, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologn, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, and many officers of diſtinction. Prince Ferdinand ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Duſſeldorff, and afterwards put his army into winter-quarters, in the biſhoprics of Munſter, Paderborn, and Hildeſheim [88]. His army had been previouſly joined by a body of Britiſh troops, who had landed at

[87] Smollett, p. 311, 312. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 35, 36. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra.

[88] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 307—310.

Embden;

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Embden; but they arrived too late to have any opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field, during that campaign; and their commander, the duke of Marlborough, died ſoon after of a dyſentery at Munſter.

ON the ſeventh of December, 1758, the third treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was concluded at London, by which his Britannick majeſty agreed to pay to the king of Pruſſia a ſecond ſubſidy of 670,000l. ſterling, to be paid in one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications. It was again ſtipulated, that neither party ſhould conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or other convention, but by common advice, and mutual conſent.

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Frederick ſends a body of troops into Poland, and deſtroys the magazines of the Ruſſians in that country.—The magazines of the Auſtrians, in Bohemia, alſo deſtroyed by prince Henry of Pruſſia.—Manifeſtoes publiſhed by count Dohna, on his entering Poland, at the head of a Pruſſian army.—Battle of Zulichau.—Battle of Kunerſdorff.—General Finck ſurrounded, and taken priſoner, with near fifteen thouſand Pruſſians under his command, at Maxen.—Military operations of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick.—Declaration of their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties to the ſeveral belligerent powers.—Frederick's declaration relative to the removal of his priſoners to Spandau.

THE king of Pruſſia had found the Ruſſians an enemy ſo extremely formidable, that he thought it neceſſary to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to impede their progreſs, and to prevent the ſucceſs of their operations againſt him. He was particularly attentive to cutting off their means of ſubſiſtence; and accordingly having received information, that large magazines had been erected for their uſe in Poland, he detached, about the middle of February, 1759, forty-ſix ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions, under general Woberſnow, from Glogau in Sileſia, who entered

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tered Poland, and deſtroyed ſeveral immenſe magazines belonging to the Ruſſians. One in particular, which was at Poſna, and which was guarded by two thouſand Coſſacks, is ſaid to have contained as much flour, as would have fed fifty thouſand men for three months [89]. In this expedition, the Pruſſians alſo attacked the caſtle of prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, who had intereſted himſelf againſt the king of Pruſſia, compelled him to ſurrender, and carried him and his garriſon priſoners into Sileſia [E]. They alſo loaded three hundred waggons with proviſions and forage, which he had collected for the Ruſſians [90].

[89] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 454, 455.

[E] In one of the accounts publiſhed of this tranſaction, it is ſaid, that 'the Pruſſians raiſed contributions as far as Poſna, 'that they deſtroyed the Ruſſian magazines, and carried off 'by force from his eſtates prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, 'and conveyed him as a priſoner to Glogau, with his guard, 'which conſiſted of two hundred men. His crime was, that 'he was ſuſpected of having raiſed theſe two hundred men 'for the Ruſſian army.' Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93. Prince Sulkowſki, as a Pole, had as much right to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, as for him; and the rather, as his own prince, the king of Poland, was in alliance with the Ruſſians, and had been driven out of hi electoral dominions by the Pruſſian monarch. The conduct of Frederick, therefore, in conveying in ſuch a manner out of his own country, and from his own eſtates, a man of high rank, whoſe only crime was having attached himſelf to the cauſe of his own ſovereign, appears to have been in a very high degree unjuſt, oppreſſive, and tyrannical.

[90] Id. ibid.

ABOUT

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ABOUT the latter end of March Frederick himſelf aſſembled his army at Rhonſtock, near Striegau, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landſhut, in Sileſia, encamped at Bolchenhayn. In the mean time, the Auſtrian army, under the command of marechal Daun, aſſembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of the Auſtrian general Beck, who ſurprized and made priſoners a battalion of Pruſſian grenadiers, poſted under colonel Duringſheven, at Greiffenberg, on the frontiers of Sileſia. But this advantage, gained by the Auſtrians, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and ſucceſs of prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded the army which had wintered in Saxony. In the month of April, he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the paſs of Peterſwalde, deſtroyed a magazine of the Auſtrians at Auſſig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, ſeized the proviſions and forage which they had collected at Loboſchutz and Leutmeritz, and demoliſhed a new bridge which they had erected for their own convenience. At the ſame time, general Hulſen attacked the paſs of Paſsberg, which was guarded by the Auſtrian general Renard, who was taken by the Pruſſians, with two thouſand men, including fifty officers[91]. One of the Auſtrian magazines, which was de-

[91] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. V. p. 95, 96.

ſtroyed

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ſtroyed by the Pruſſians, was at Budin, where the flames ſpread, and reduced the town to aſhes; though prince Henry is ſaid to have done all in his power to extinguiſh the fire[92].

THE Pruſſians having now filled Bohemia with alarm and conſternation, raiſed heavy contributions in the country, and made great deſtruction of the Auſtrian magazines [F], prince Henry returned to Saxony, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. But they were again put in motion in a few days, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence prince Henry continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the ſeventh of May, and next day ſent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialiſts at Aſch, and who ſuſtained the charge with great courage; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince de Deuxponts, retreated, as the Pruſſians advanced,

[92] Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

[F] The Pruſſians are ſaid to have deſtroyed, in the Auſtrian magazines, in this expedition, 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4lb. weight each; 136,829 Berlin meaſures of oats; and 86,300 rations of hay, of 8lb. weight each. Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

and

and abandoned the rich biſhoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburgh to contribution. The town of Bamberg ſurrendered upon terms; but ſome confuſion happening before the capitulation was completed, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Pruſſians, who had advanced towards one of the gates. This was reſented as an infringement of the capitulation, and was made a pretence for plundering the place. It was given up to pillage, by order of the Pruſſian commanders, for two days, in a very cruel and licentious manner; and the conduct of the Pruſſians, in this tranſaction, was loudly and juſtly cenſured throughout Europe [93].

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In the beginning of the month of June, the king of Pruſſia having received information, that the Ruſſians, notwithſtanding the deſtruction of their magazines, had begun their march from the Viſtula, ordered the ſeveral bodies of his troops, under the generals Hulſen and Woberſnow, to join the forces under count Dohna, and to march into Poland [G]. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz,

[93] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 10. Entick, ut ſupra, p. 460.

[G] One of the king of Pruſſia's biographers, ſpeaking of this march of the Pruſſian troops into Poland, ſays, 'It is 'aſtoniſhing to find in Europe, in the middle of the eighteenth 'century, a ſtate, whoſe dominions are more extenſive than 'thoſe of France or of Germany, yet ſo deſtitute of forces, 'and of the means of defence, as to ſuffer its neighbours to

'enter

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Meritz, where the Pruſſian general publiſhed the following manifeſto:

'His Pruſſian majeſty, finding himſelf under a neceſſity to cauſe part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them againſt the threatened invaſion of the enemy, declares, that it muſt not be underſtood that his majeſty, by this ſtep taken, intends to make any breach in the regard, which he has always had for the illuſtrious republic of Poland, or to leſſen the good underſtanding which has hitherto ſubſiſted between them; but, on the contrary, to ſtrengthen the ſame, in expectation that the illuſtrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is deſired.

'The nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy, in their reſpective diſtricts, between the frontiers of Pruſſia, ſo far as beyond Poſna, are required to furniſh all kinds of proviſions, corn, and forage, neceſſary to ſupport an army of forty thouſand men, with the utmoſt diſpatch, with an aſſurance of being paid ready money for the ſame. But if, contrary to expectation, any

'enter the provinces of it at their pleaſure; and that a ſingle 'general, at the head of a few regiments, can ſupport himſelf 'in it as long as he thinks proper; or, at leaſt, till the general 'of ſome other power comes and drives him out.' Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93.

deficiency

'deficiency ſhould happen in ſupplying this de- CHAP. XXVIII.
'mand, his majeſty's troops will be obliged to A. D.
'forage, and uſe the ſame means as thoſe taken 1759.
'by the enemy for their ſubſiſtence. In confi-
'dence, therefore, that the ſeveral juriſdictions
'upon the Pruſſian frontiers, within the territo-
'ries of Poland, will exert themſelves to comply
'with this demand as ſoon as poſſible, for the
'ſubſiſtence of the royal army of Pruſſia, they
'are aſſured, that thereby all diſorders will be
'prevented, and whatever is delivered will be
'paid for in ready money.'

Two days after, count Dohna publiſhed the following declaration: 'It was with the greateſt 'aſtoniſhment, that the king, my moſt gracious 'lord and maſter, heard that ſeveral of his own 'ſubjects had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced 'from their allegiance ſo far, as to enter into the 'ſervice of a potentate with whom he is at war. 'His majeſty, therefore, makes known by theſe 'preſents, that all of his ſubjects ſerving in the 'enemy's armies, who ſhall be taken with arms 'in their hands, ſhall, agreeably to all laws, 'be ſentenced to be hanged without mercy, as 'traitors to their king and country.'

A FEW days after, the Pruſſian general alſo publiſhed the following manifeſto: 'We invite 'and deſire, that the nobility, archbiſhops, 'biſhops, abbeys, convents, ſeignories, magiſ- 'trates, and inhabitants of the republic of Po-

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land, on the road to Poſnania, and beyond it, would repair in perſon, or by deputies, in the courſe of this week, or as ſoon after as poſſible, to the Pruſſian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commiſſary at war, for the delivery of forage and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promiſe and aſſure ourſelves, that no perſon in Poland will attempt to ſeduce the Pruſſian troops to deſert; that no aſſiſtance will be given them in ſuch perfidious practices; that they will neither be ſheltered, concealed, nor lodged; which would be followed by very diſagreeable conſequences. We expect, on the contrary, that perſons of all ranks and conditions will ſtop any runaway or deſerter, and deliver him up at the firſt advanced poſt, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the ſame ſhall be paid, and a reaſonable gratification ſuperadded.

If any one hath an inclination to enter into the king of Pruſſia's ſervice, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head quarters, and be aſſured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any prince, or member of the republic of Poland, be diſpoſed to aſſemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Pruſſian army, to make a common cauſe

with

'with it, he may depend on a gracious recep- CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.
'tion, and that due regard will be ſhewn to his
'merit[84].'

FROM Meritz count Dohna continued his march towards Poſna, where he found the Ruſſian army, which was now under the command of count Soltikow, ſtrongly encamped, having in their rear that city, and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of cannon. In this ſituation, count Dohna judged it to be impracticable to attack them, with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He, therefore, contented himſelf with watching their motions, and endeavouring to intercept their convoys to the eaſtward: but, for want of proviſions, was, in a ſhort time, obliged to return himſelf towards the Oder. The Ruſſians then advanced towards Zulichau, in Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia now began to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of his general, count Dohna. He, therefore, ſuperſeded him, and conferred the command on Wedel, who was lately advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general. Count Dohna appears to have been a brave, and a ſkilful officer, but the king thought him ſomewhat too cautious; and, indeed, he ſeems not to have been quite ſo ready as his royal maſter, to ſacrifice the lives of his men, when there was little proſpect of obtaining any advantage.

[84] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 231, 232, 233.

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GENERAL Wedel, who was now inveſted with the command, received poſitive orders from the king, at all events, to engage the Ruſſians. They had arrived at ZULICHAU, and intended to proceed from thence to Croſſen in Sileſia, in order to get before the Pruſſian army, and to make good the paſſage of the Oder. The Ruſſian army amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, and the Pruſſians did not exceed thirty thouſand. General Wedel, however, attacked the Ruſſians, with great vigour, at KAY, near ZULICHAU, on the twenty-third of July. But, after a very obſtinate engagement, the Pruſſians were repulſed with the loſs of between four and five thouſand men.

AFTER the battle of Zulichau, the Ruſſians made themſelves maſters of the town of Croſſen. They afterwards penetrated far into the Pruſſian territories, and took poſſeſſion of Franckfort upon the Oder. The king of Pruſſia had been employed, for a conſiderable time, in watching the motions of marechal Daun; but he now reſolved to march himſelf in perſon to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians; and this he judged to be the more neceſſary, in order to prevent a junction between them and the Auſtrians. Accordingly he ſet out from his camp in Sileſia, with a ſelect body of ten thouſand men, in order to take upon him the command of general Wedel's army, leaving the reſt of his forces ſtrongly encamped,

under the command of his brother prince Henry. Marechal Daun, being apprized of Frederick's intention, and knowing the Ruſſians to be very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thouſand horſe to join them, under the command of general Laudohn; and theſe, penetrating through Sileſia and Luſatia, though not without ſome loſs, arrived in the Ruſſian camp at this very critical juncture[95].

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THE king of Pruſſia joined general Wedel at Muhlroſe, where he aſſumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to that of the Ruſſians, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached ſome time before, with a body of nine thouſand men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony. But, even with this reinforcement, the Pruſſian army did not quite amount to fifty thouſand men, while that of the Ruſſians, ſince the junction of general Laudohn, was not much leſs than ninety thouſand. They had choſen a ſtrong camp, at the village of KUNERSDORFF, almoſt oppoſite to Franckfort upon the Oder; and they had increaſed the natural ſtrength of their ſituation by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. Notwithſtanding theſe accumulated diſadvantages, the king of Pruſſia determined to hazard an attack.

[95] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 100. Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

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THE Pruſſian army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the Ruſſians, on the twelfth of Auguſt; and, at eleven in the forenoon, the action was begun with a ſevere cannonade. This having produced the deſired effect, the king of Pruſſia charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with his beſt troops formed in columns. After a very obſtinate conteſt, the Ruſſian intrenchments were forced with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. A narrow defile was afterwards paſſed, and ſeveral redoubts, that covered the village of KUNERSDORFF, were taken by aſſault. At that village, the Ruſſians made a firm ſtand; but they were overborne by the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, who drove them from poſt to poſt, up to the laſt redoubts which they had to defend. The Ruſſians, however, kept their ground, till they were hewn down in their ranks; and this ſucceſs, therefore, was not obtained by the Pruſſians, but with infinite labour, and at a great expence of blood.

AFTER a furious engagement of ſix hours, fortune ſeemed to declare ſo much in favour of the Pruſſians, that the king diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: 'Madam, 'we have driven the Ruſſians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of 'a glorious victory.' But this intimation was premature. The Ruſſians, though ſtaggered, and broken,

broken, were not routed. Count Soltikow found, that his left wing, though ſhattered, was more entire than any other part of his army. He, therefore, aſſembled the remains of his right, and gathering as many as he could from the center, reinforced his left wing, and made a ſtand at a redoubt, which had been erected on an advantageous eminence, called 'the Jews burying 'ground.' Here the Ruſſians again ſtood in order of battle, with the moſt reſolute countenance, favoured by the ſituation, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, and now rendered almoſt impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery. It is ſaid, that the Pruſſian generals were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be imprudent at that time to puſh any farther the advantages which they had obtained. They repreſented to the king, that their adverſaries were ſtill very numerous, and their artillery conſiderable; that the poſt which they occupied was of great ſtrength; that his brave troops, who had been engaged for ſo long a time, in one of the ſevereſt actions ever known, and in one of the hotteſt days that was ever felt, were too much exhauſted for a new attempt, and an attempt of ſuch extreme difficulty; that the advantage he had already gained would be as deciſive in its conſequences as that of Zorndorff; and that the enemy would be obliged immediately to retire into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in

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other quarters, where his preſence was equally neceſſary [96].

THESE reaſons were forcible, and at firſt ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion upon the king; but, in a few moments, he reſolved to make another effort, and again put all to the hazard. His infantry, ſtill reſolute, and animated by their late ſucceſs, were led on to a new attack. But the enterprize was beyond their ſtrength. The ſituation of the Ruſſians was impregnable; and their artillery repulſed the Pruſſian battalions with great ſlaughter. The Pruſſian infantry, however, were brought to a ſecond attack, and were a ſecond time repulſed, and with ſtill greater loſs. The cavalry then ſucceeded to the attack, and repeated their unſucceſsful efforts, till they were almoſt broken, and entirely exhauſted.

AT this critical juncture, the whole body of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian cavalry, under general Laudohn, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore freſh, and in ſpirits, fell in among the Pruſſian horſe with great fury, broke their line at the firſt charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into ſuch diſorder as could not be repaired. The Pruſſian army being thus involved in confuſion, was ſoon after totally defeated, notwithſtanding the perſonal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hotteſt parts of the battle, led on his

[96] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

troops

troops three times to the charge, had two horſes killed under him, and his clothes in ſeveral places penetrated with muſquet-balls [H]. His army being routed, and general Seidlitz, and moſt of his other generals, being diſabled by wounds, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon the field of battle [I]; and he then diſpatched another

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[H] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of this battle, ſays, 'It muſt be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own perſon, he was likewiſe very free with the lives of his ſubjects. At no time, ſince the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men ſquandered away with ſuch profuſion, as in the courſe of this German war. They were not only unneceſſarily ſacrificed in various exploits of no conſequence, but laviſhly expoſed to all the rigour and diſtemper of winter-campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in deſpite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! ſuch the refinements of German diſcipline!' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 103, 104.

Voltaire alſo, after giving ſome account of the battles which were fought in Germany at this period, ſays, 'What was the reſult of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital, at this day, is tedious to thoſe who there ſignalized themſelves? What remains after ſo many battles? Nothing, but blood ſpilt to no purpoſe in uncultivated and ruined countries, villages deſtroyed, and families reduced to beggary.' Age of Lewis XV. ch. 33.

[I] The king is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted in his retreat by general Finck, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, in which he was wounded. Captain Tielke ſays, that 'General Finck diſplayed ſuch zeal, knowledge, and capacity, in collecting the troops, forming them again, repairing the diſorder, and covering the retreat of the army, that the king

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another billet to the queen, containing theſe words: 'Remove from Berlin with the royal 'family. Let the archives be carried to Potſ-'dam. The town may make conditions with 'the enemy[97].'

THE night, and the prudent uſe of ſome eminences, which were defended as well as the circumſtances would admit, preſerved the Pruſſian army from total ruin. But they loſt eighty pieces of cannon; and the number of their killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to ten thouſand. General Putkammer was killed; and the lieutenant-generals Seidlitz, Finck, Wedel, Hulſen, and Itzenplitz, were among the wounded; as was alſo the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals. Among the wounded officers of inferior rank, was major Kleiſt, who is eſteemed one of the beſt German poets. He had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, and died of his wounds a few days after. The loſs of the Ruſſians was alſo ſo great, that count Soltikow is reported to have ſaid, after the action, 'If I ſhould gain ſuch another victory, I may

'king told him, he would be a ſecond Turenne.' Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Ruſſians, &c. tranſlated from the German, by the captains Charles and Robert Crawfurd, vol. I. p. 210.

[97] Annual Regiſter, and Smollett, ut ſupra.

go alone, with my truncheon in my hand, to carry the news to Peterſburgh[98].'

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THE Pruſſian troops, early in the morning after the battle of KUNERSDORFF, returned to the camp which they had occupied before, about two leagues from the field of battle. In a letter, ſaid to be written by a Pruſſian officer of diſtinction, who was preſent in the action, is the following paſſage: 'I ſaw the king, the morning after the 'battle, ſtretched upon a little ſtraw, repoſing 'among the ruins of a farm-houſe, which had 'been deſtroyed by the Coſſacks. He ſlept, 'with as much ſoundneſs and tranquility, as if 'he had been in the ſecureſt place. His hat 'covered half his face, and his ſword drawn lay 'by his ſide. Two adjutants were at his feet, 'ſleeping on the ground. A ſingle grenadier 'ſtood ſentinel. This monarch ſeems to have 'ſleep and repoſe in his own power, as well as 'preſence of mind. As ſoon as he is out of the 'reach of arms, the idea of his own ſuperiority, 'and his confidence in his own good fortune, ſo 'take poſſeſſion of him, that he no longer ſees 'any danger; but delivers himſelf up to repoſe 'with as much ſecurity, as if the enemy were at 'twenty leagues diſtance[99].'

[98] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 99.

[99] Ibid. p. 98, 99. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 44, 45.

THE

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THE king ſoon after repaſſed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin. He was apprehenſive, that the Ruſſians would have immediately proceeded to Brandenburgh; but they were not very active in making the moſt of the victory that they had obtained [K]; and he himſelf ſoon removed from Retwin to Fuſtenwalde, and ſtationed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that they did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. In a few days after his defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He had re-aſſembled and refreſhed his broken troops; he had furniſhed his camp with cannon from the arſenal at Berlin; and he recalled general Kleiſt, whom he had ſent with five thouſand men into Pomerania. He watched the motions of the Ruſſian army ſo aſſiduouſly, that count Soltikow, inſtead of entering Brandenburgh, marched into Luſatia. There he joined the grand Auſtrian army, under marechal Daun; and the two generals held conſultations together concerning their future operations [100].

[K] Frederick ſays, that when count Soltikow, the Ruſſian general, was preſſed by marechal Daun to purſue his operations with ardour, he replied, 'I have done enough, ſir, for 'one year. I have gained two victories, which have coſt Ruſſia 'twenty-ſeven thouſand men. I wait, before I put myſelf again into action, till you have gained two victories in your turn. It is not juſt, that the troops of my ſovereign ſhould 'act alone.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 38.

[100] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

FREDE-

FREDERICK never appeared greater, than after any remarkable adverſe ſtroke of fortune. In ſuch caſes, he generally excited the aſtoniſhment of mankind, by the celerity with which he recovered his loſſes, by the wonderful reſources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his ſpirit. After the battle of Kunerſdorff, when his friends, as well as his enemies, were of opinion, that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they choſe firſt to ſubdue, as a prelude to the conqueſt of the whole; he obliged both to act on the defenſive; and, at the ſame time, detached a body of ſix thouſand men, under general Wunſch, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony [101].

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DURING the time that the king had been employed againſt the Ruſſians, the army of the empire had entered into Saxony, and made themſelves maſters of Halle, Wittemberg, Leipſic, and Torgau; and ſoon after Dreſden alſo ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. But the detachment under general Wunſch retook Leipſic on the twenty-firſt of September; and having joined general Finck, who was ſent with another body of troops into Saxony, theſe Pruſſian generals repulſed the army of the empire at Corbitz, though ſupported by a body of Auſtrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in

[101] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 345.

that

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that electorate except Dreſden [102]. Prince Henry of Pruſſia now quitted a camp which he had occupied, at Hornſdorff, near Gorlitz, in Luſatia, and marched with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, where he joined the generals Finck and Wunſch. This rapid march obliged count Daun alſo to quit his camp in Luſatia, and to ſeparate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dreſden. After the Auſtrian and Ruſſian armies were thus ſeparated, the king found, that it was the intention of the Ruſſians to beſiege Great Glogau; but he took poſt between them and that city in ſuch a manner, as totally to fruſtrate their deſign; and they ſoon after retired into Poland. They appear to have been much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and they received an offer of money from the court of Vienna; but to this offer count Soltikow replied, 'My ſoldiers do not eat money [103].'

By the retreat of the Ruſſians into Poland, the king of Pruſſia finding himſelf diſengaged from a very formidable enemy, marched immediately into Saxony, and there joined his brother prince Henry, near Torgau, on the ſecond of November, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Auſtrian generals. On this junction the army of the empire retired, and marechal Daun retreated towards Dreſden, as well to cover that city, as to keep open his com-

[102] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

[103] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II p. 102.

munication

munication with Bohemia. The whole Auſtrian cavalry was poſted in the plain between Plauen and Dreſden; the right wing extending to the ſuburb of that city, and the left wing to the village. As this advantageous poſition made an attack upon the Auſtrian army almoſt impracticable, the king endeavoured to oblige marechal Daun to quit it, and to retire towards Bohemia, by rendering his communication with that country very difficult, and cutting off his means of ſubſiſtence. To this end he ſent colonel Kleiſt with a body of light troops into Bohemia, who deſtroyed many magazines, and levied conſiderable contributions [104].

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SHORTLY after, Frederick detached lieutenant-general Finck, with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five ſquadrons, to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Auſtrians into Bohemia. But the Pruſſian general had no ſooner taken poſt upon the heights near the village of MAXEN, than marechal Daun ſent officers to reconnoitre his ſituation, and immediately reſolved to attack him with the corps de reſerve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldiſwalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through

[104] Tielke's Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable Events of the War between the Pruſſians, &c. ut ſupra, p. 4, 5.

the

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the neighbouring woods; and the Pruſſians had no apprehenſion of the approach of the Auſtrians, till they ſaw themſelves almoſt entirely ſurrounded. In this emergency, they defended themſelves with their cannon and muſquetry till they were overpowered by numbers, and their batteries were taken. Then they retired to another riſing ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their laſt retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that at day-break general Finck found himſelf ſo completely encloſed, that he conceived no poſſibility of eſcape remained for him. He endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms; and at length general Finck himſelf, eight major-generals, and all his troops, amounting to nearly fifteen thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. Upwards of ſixty pieces of cannon, forty-four ammunition waggons, twenty-four ſtandards, and ninety-ſix pair of colours, alſo fell into the hands of the Auſtrians on this occaſion.

GENERAL Finck was eſteemed a brave and a ſkilful officer; but in this tranſaction he ſeems to have been deficient either in judgment or in vigilance [1]. General Hulſen had been detached,

[1] Some writers have ſuppoſed, that the king of Pruſſia himſelf was chiefly to blame in this buſineſs; by detaching ſo numerous

tached with nine battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to his aſſiſtance; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any ſervice; and, being recalled, CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

numerous a body of troops to a ſituation, where they could not be ſuſtained by the reſt of his army. But, on this ſubject, the captains C. and R. Crawfurd have made the following remarks, in their notes on Tielke's 'Account of ſome of the 'moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians,' &c. p. 13, 14. 'Although many people may with juſtice 'deem it a fault in the king, that he did not immediately poſt 'a conſiderable corps at Dippoldiſwalda, excluſive of general 'Finck's corps, yet every perſon, who is acquainted with the 'country, and has any knowledge of the military art, muſt 'behold with admiration the boldneſs and juſtneſs of the 'king's manœuvre, in detaching general Finck to Maxen: a 'manœuvre, which deſerves as much to be admired as any 'of the other great actions of this conſummate general; and 'which, had it been as well executed as conceived, would 'have been attended with the moſt important and brilliant 'ſucceſs. For had general Finck maintained his poſt till 'general Hulſen arrived, (which he could have done by 'occupying the ground properly) marechal Daun would then 'have been unable to drive the Pruſſians from the neighbourhood of Maxen; and, as by this poſition they would have 'entirely cut off his communication with Bohemia on that 'ſide, and have rendered the famous camp of Plauen almoſt, 'if not abſolutely untenable, he would have been obliged to 'make a precipitate retreat over the Elbe by Dreſden, and 'probably to have retired to Bohemia by that route, with the 'greateſt part of his army. That the event of this expedition is to be attributed to the faults committed on the part 'of the Pruſſians, is moſt certain; but the deciſive fault was 'in the execution, not in the deſign. The chief perſon to 'be blamed, as we think, was general Finck, not the king.'

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was ſent the next day to occupy the important poſt of Freyberg. General Finck was afterwards tried by a court-martial, who ſentenced him to two years impriſonment. After he was releaſed from his confinement, he went as a general of infantry into the Daniſh ſervice, and was in that ſituation when he died.

THE affair of Maxen was not the only diſaſter which befel the king of Pruſſia at the cloſe of this campaign. General Diercke, who was poſted with ſeven battalions of infantry, and a thouſand horſe, on the right bank of the Elbe, oppoſite to Meiſſen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons acroſs the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to tranſport his troops in boats; and when all were paſſed, except himſelf, with the rear-guard, conſiſting of three battalions, he was attacked, on the morning of the third of December, by a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obſtinate conteſt [105]. By theſe ſucceſſive misfortunes, the force of the king of Pruſſia was greatly weakened; but he received a very ſeaſonable reinforcement of twelve thouſand troops, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. They had been detached to his relief by prince Ferdinand; and that they might join him as ſoon as poſſible, they had marched near three

[105] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 103.

hundred

hundred miles in fifteen days [106]. They joined the king at Freyberg; and, notwithſtanding his late loſſes, marechal Daun ſtill thought him ſo formidable, that he made no new attempt againſt him, but contented himſelf with quietly occupying the ſtrong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to ſuccour Dreſden, in caſe it ſhould be attacked, and alſo maintain his communication with Bohemia; and Frederick ſoon after put his forces into winter quarters [M] at Freyberg. But before that event had taken place, a body of his troops, under the command of general Manteuffel, had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages againſt the Swedes in Pomerania.

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[106] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 50.

[M] The extreme ſeverity of the weather rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that the troops of the king of Pruſſia, as well as of his enemies, ſhould go into winter quarters. 'A winter remarkably ſevere ſucceeded the bloody campaign 'of 1759. At Bareith, in the night of the 16th of December, 'the cold was inſupportable. Reaumur's thermometer was 'ſunk to 15, which is preciſely the ſame degree it fell to in '1709, a year like this diſtinguiſhed by the intenſeneſs of the 'cold, and the fury of war. Birds dropped dead in their 'flight. At Leipſic ten ſentinels were frozen to death. An 'infectious diſeaſe, which began in the armies, diffuſed itſelf 'among the inhabitants of SAXONY, and made a dreadful 'havock. A peſtilential contagion raged among the cattle. 'Famine was ſoon added to the reſt of their calamities; and 'every miſery that can afflict mankind, was poured out upon 'that unfortunate people, with the moſt liberal meaſure.' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 9, 10.

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AT the beginning of the preſent year, the French, by a breach of faith, had made themſelves maſters of Franckfort upon the Maine, a free and neutral city. This was an important acquiſition, as it ſecured to them the courſe of the Maine, and the Upper Rhine [107], by which they received every ſpecies of ſupply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alſace; and it alſo maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Auſtrian forces, and the army of the empire. Prince Ferdinand of Bruniſwick conſidered it as of much conſequence to diſlodge them from this poſt; and, therefore, determined to attempt it, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit his troops to take the field. The Hanoverian army which he commanded, had been augmented by German recruits, and ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements from England. He aſſembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda in the month of April, 1759, and began his march towards Franckfort at the head of thirty thouſand men, having left the reſt of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the biſhopric of Munſter. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglio, ſtrongly poſted near the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. As he had reſolved to attack it, he immediately drew up his

[107] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 335.

forces

forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But, after three deſperate efforts to get poſſeſſion of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of two thouſand men. Prince Ferdinand being thus defeated, the French ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Franckfort, and all the advantages which they derived from that ſituation. They received conſiderable reinforcements, and acquired in a ſhort ſpace ſuch a ſuperiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand to content himſelf with acting on the defenſive, for a long time after. As the French advanced, he found it neceſſary to retire; though he left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden, in order to retard the progreſs of the French generals. But Retberg was ſoon after ſurprized by the duke de Broglio; that general alſo took Minden by aſſault; and Munſter, though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, was reduced, after a ſhort ſiege [108]. It now appeared ſcarcely poſſible, to prevent the French from making themſelves a ſecond time maſters of his Britannick majeſty's German dominions. But, with the hope of preventing this, prince Ferdinand reſolved to hazard another action, and accordingly engaged the French army at the battle of Minden, with a much inferior force, and gained a complete victory, on the firſt of Auguſt. He afterwards

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[108] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 336.

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gained poſſeſſion of Minden, Caſſel, and Munſter; and forced the French to evacuate great part of Weſtphalia.

ON the ninth of November, 1759, the fourth treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was ſigned at London; by which it was agreed, that a third ſum of 670,000l. ſterling ſhould be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications; and it was again ſtipulated between the two kings, 'not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention, or agreement whatſoever, with the powers who had taken part in the preſent war, but in concert, and by mutual conſent, and expreſsly comprehending each other therein [109].' At theſe expenſive Pruſſian treaties, many of the inhabitants of England now began to murmur; and, indeed, the real intereſts of Great Britain were, at the preſent period, much ſacrificed to the king's perſonal predilection for his electorate of Hanover. The public money of the kingdom was ſquandered [N], with

[109] Gent. Mag. vol. XXIX. p. 609, 610.

[N] The king of Pruſſia himſelf was of opinion, that a part at leaſt of the public money of England, which had been ſpent in Germany, was ſquandered away unneceſſarily and improperly. In the preface to his *Hiſtoire de mon Temps*, as publiſhed by count Hertzberg, is the following paſſage: 'On the one ſide I ſee the king of Spain, ſovereign of the mines of Potoſi, overwhelmed with debt in Europe; and on the other, the king of England, profuſely ſcattering with both hands

with great profuſion, in ſubſidies to foreign princes[o], and in ſupport of the German war; CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. from 1759.

hands thoſe guineas, which thirty years induſtry had accumulated in Great Britain, to ſupport the queen of Hungary and the Pragmatic ſanction.' Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 44.

[o] Among other German princes, to whom large ſums of the public money of England were voted, one was the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. This prince, who, in time of war, was incapable of defending his own dominions, which were repeatedly taken poſſeſſion of by the French, lent his troops to Great Britain for a ſubſidy of more than three hundred thouſand pounds per annum. He was not, however, always very firm in his alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Entick ſays, that 'the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was a ſubſidiary ally, 'retained by a large penſion in time of peace, when his 'friendſhip could not avail; and whoſe enmity could never 'hurt Great Britain, but in ſuch conjunctures, when foreign 'or domeſtic quarrels or commotions ſhould require an auxiliary aid. But expecting, from appearances, (in 1758,) 'that the cauſe of Hanover was in a loſing condition, this 'mercenary ally, though a principal in the diſpute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties of ſolemn treaties, 'and of gratitude and honour, ſued to be enliſted into the 'ſervice of our common enemy.' Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 120, 121.

In the year 1756, when apprehenſions were formed of a deſign in the French to invade Great Britain, a body of Heſſian troops were brought over into England; a meaſure which juſtly excited great diſcontent in a conſiderable part of the nation; and this diſcontent was increaſed by its being determined, that in caſe of any acts of violence being committed in the kingdom by theſe foreign mercenaries, they were not amenable to the laws of England. No apprehenſions of an

CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

from which no adequate advantage [P] to Great Britain, or even to the electorate of Hanover, was procured, or could rationally have been expected.

invaſion, could reconcile the nation to theſe foreign defenders. Indeed, the native force of Great Britain, its militia, and more eſpecially its navy, is fully equal to its own defence. Hiring foreign troops, therefore, for the defence of the nation, under whatever pretence, is a meaſure always diſhonourable and dangerous; and ſhould at all times, by the inhabitants of Great Britain, be firmly and zealouſly oppoſed.

[P] Dr. Smollett remarks, that 'the partizans of the miniſtry were at great pains to ſuggeſt and inculcate a belief, 'that the war in Germany was chiefly ſtipulated as a neceſſary 'DIVERSION in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, 'which would have been expoſed to inſult and invaſion, had 'not the enemy's forces been otherwiſe employed. But the 'abſurdity of this notion will at once appear to thoſe who 'conſider, that by this time Great Britain was ſole miſtreſs 'of the ſea; that the navy of France was almoſt ruined; and 'her commerce on the ocean quite extinguiſhed; that ſhe 'could not, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, hazard any 'expedition of conſequence againſt Great Britain, or any 'part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with 'ſuch powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if 'one-third part of the money annually ingulphed in the 'German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the 'naval forces of England, and thoſe forces properly exerted, 'not a ſingle cruizer would have been able to ſtir from the 'harbours of France; all her colonies in the Weſt Indies 'would have fallen an eaſy prey to the arms of Great Britain; 'and thus cut off from the reſources of commerce, ſhe muſt 'have been content to embrace ſuch terms of peace, as the 'victor ſhould have thought proper to preſcribe.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, vol. IV. p. 214, 215.

ON

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On the fifth of December, 1759, duke Lewis of Brunſwick delivered to the miniſters of the ſeveral belligerent powers, reſiding at the Hague, the following declaration, in the names of the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia:

'Their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, 'moved with compaſſion at the miſchiefs which 'the war, that has been kindled for ſome years, 'has already occaſioned, and muſt neceſſarily 'produce, would think themſelves wanting to 'the duties of humanity, and particularly to 'their tender concern for the preſervation and 'well-being of their reſpective kingdoms and 'ſubjects, if they neglected the proper means to 'put a ſtop to the progreſs of ſo ſevere a cala-'mity, and to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment 'of public tranquility. In this view, and in 'order to manifeſt the purity of their intentions 'in this reſpect, their ſaid majeſties have deter-'mined to make the following declaration, viz.

'That they are ready to ſend plenipotentiaries 'to the place, which ſhall be thought moſt pro-'per, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a 'ſolid and general peace, with thoſe whom the 'belligerent parties ſhall think fit to authorize, 'on their parts, for the attaining ſo ſalutary an 'end [110].'

In the courſe of this year, the king of Pruſſia was accuſed of barbarity, in iſſuing an order for

[110] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 267.

removing

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removing all his priſoners from Berlin to Spandau. But this meaſure he endeavoured to juſtify, in a letter to his miniſters at foreign courts, in which he declared, that he had provided for all the officers, who were his priſoners of war, as well Swedes, as French and Auſtrians, and lately for the Ruſſians, the beſt accommodations, and every conveniency; having, for that end, permitted them to paſs the time of their captivity in his capital. But as ſome of them, he ſaid, 'had groſsly abuſed the liberty allowed them, 'by keeping up illicit correſpondencies, and by 'other practices, with which he could not avoid 'being offended,' he had been obliged to remove them all to the town of Spandau. He deſired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortreſs of that name, from which it was entirely ſeparated; as in the town they would enjoy the ſame eaſe as at Berlin, but would be 'more narrowly watched.' His conduct, on this occaſion, he ſaid, was ſufficiently authorized, not only by the law of nations, but alſo by the example of his enemies; inaſmuch as the empreſs-queen had never ſuffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reſide at Vienna; and the court of Ruſſia had ſent ſome of them as far as Kaſan [111].

[111] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 250.

CHAP.

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Frederick encamps his army between the Elbe and the Multa.—His letter to king Staniſlaus.—Declarations relative to peace made by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Verſailles.—General Fouquet, with a large body of Pruſſians, defeated and taken by general Laudohn, at Landſhut.—Bombardment of Dreſden by the king of Pruſſia.—Memorial publiſhed on that occaſion by the king of Poland.—Bombardment of Breſlaw by general Laudohn.

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THE events of the year 1759 had been more adverſe to the king of Pruſſia, than any other from the commencement of the war. He had been greatly weakened by the defeat of his troops at Zulichau, by his own defeat at Kunerſdorff, by the affair of Maxen, and by other diſaſters. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, his enemies ſtill found him extremely formidable: he had put his troops into winter-quarters in Saxony, and though the Auſtrians were maſters of Dreſden, he yet kept poſſeſſion of almoſt every other part of that electorate. In the month of January, 1760, the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were cantoned ſo near each other, that daily ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. But early in the campaign, he withdrew

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drew his out-poſts from Freyberg, and drawing a chain of cantonments from the foreſt of Tharandt on his right to the Elbe, he took a moſt advantageous camp between that river and the Multa. This camp he fortified in every place that was acceſſible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By theſe means, he was enabled to maintain his ground againſt the grand Auſtrian army under marechal Daun, whoſe whole attention he engaged, and at the ſame time to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without expoſing himſelf to any danger. Prince Henry had aſſembled an army near Franckfort on the Oder, where he took various poſitions, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſians, and to protect Sileſia and the New Marche of Brandenburgh, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. General Fouquet had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilſt he covered Sileſia on that ſide, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was ſo poſted as to be able to ſend to, or to receive ſuccours from him, as either party ſhould happen to be preſſed [112].

IN conſequence of the advances towards a peace, which were made by the kings of Great

[112] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 380, 381. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13.

Britain

Britain and Pruſſia, in their declaration delivered to the foreign miniſters at the Hague, which I have given in the preceding chapter, the king of Spain offered his beſt offices in quality of mediator; and when a congreſs was propoſed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negociation. King Staniſlaus [Q] alſo wrote letters to their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, offering the city of Nancy for the ſame purpoſe; and from the king of Pruſſia he received the following anſwer:

'Sir, and brother,

'I received your majeſty's letter with a very 'ſincere pleaſure, and I ſhould certainly not 'have refuſed the offer which you make of the 'city of Nancy, if it had depended on me. 'Any negociations that ſhould be carried on 'under your auſpices, could not fail to take a 'favourable and a happy turn. But your majeſty, 'perhaps, is already apprized, that the ſenti-'ments of every body are not ſo pacific.

'The courts of Vienna and Ruſſia have re-'fuſed, in an unprecedented manner, to enter 'into the meaſures propoſed by the king of

[Q] STANISLAUS, who had been king of Poland, was afterwards obliged to abdicate the throne; but the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were conferred upon him, and he ſtill continued to enjoy the title of king. The city of NANCY is the capital of Lorraine.

'Great

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'Great Britain; and it is probable, that they 'will draw in the king of France to continue 'the war, from which they promiſe to themſelves 'all the advantages. They alone, therefore, will 'be the ſole cauſe of that effuſion of human 'blood, which their refuſal will occaſion. I 'ſhall not, however, be the leſs grateful for the 'obliging offers that have been made by your 'majeſty. If all ſovereigns were as pacific, 'equitable, and juſt, as you are, the earth would 'not be expoſed, as it is, to devaſtation, to ra-'vages, to ſword, and fire.

'I am, with ſentiments of the greateſt eſteem, 'and of the moſt ſincere friendſhip,

'Sir, my brother,

'Your majeſty's faithful brother,

Freyberg, Feb. 8, 1760. 'FREDERICK.'

IN anſwer to the declarations in favour of peace, from the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, delivered to the foreign miniſters at the Hague, memorials were alſo delivered from the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Verſailles, in which they declared, that they were 'equally animated 'by the deſire of contributing to the re-eſtabliſh-'ment of the public tranquility, on a ſolid and 'equitable footing;' and 'that his Catholic 'majeſty having been pleaſed to offer his media-'tion in the war, which had ſubſiſted for ſome 'years

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'years between France and England, and that war having nothing in common with that which the two empreſſes, with their allies, had carried on for ſome years againſt the king of Pruſſia, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was ready to treat of his particular peace with England, through the good offices of his Catholic majeſty, whoſe mediation he had a pleaſure in accepting.' It was farther added, that 'as to the war which directly regarded his Pruſſian majeſty, the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and the moſt Chriſtian king, were diſpoſed to agree to the appointment of the congreſs propoſed. But as, by virtue of their treaties, they could not enter into any engagement relating to peace, but in conjunction with their allies, it would be neceſſary, in order that they might be enabled to explain themſelves definitively upon that ſubject, that their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties ſhould previouſly be pleaſed to cauſe their invitation to a congreſs to be made to all the powers, that were directly engaged in war againſt the king of Pruſſia; and particularly to his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony [R], and likewiſe to his majeſty the king

[R] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the overtures relative to peace which were made at this time, ſays of the king of Pruſſia, 'He will cede nothing; and propoſes, in order to indemnify

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'king of Sweden, who ought ſpecifically to be 'invited to the future congreſs[113].'

THE propoſal of appointing the king of Spain to be mediator between France and Great Britain, was not likely to be well received by the Engliſh miniſtry, as his Catholic majeſty could hardly be expected to be a very impartial mediator. As to the war between Great Britain and France, it had been attended with very diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs on the part of the former. Mr. PITT, who then preſided in the councils of England, though his conduct was cenſurable reſpecting the German war, yet had otherwiſe manifeſted the utmoſt integrity, and diſplayed all the talents of a truly great and illuſtrious miniſter. Under his direction, and animated by his ſpirit, his influence, and his energetic and commanding eloquence, the arms of Great Britain had been triumphant in every quarter of the world. The Britiſh conqueſts had been ſo numerous, and the national ſucceſs ſo great, that the adminiſtration of PITT

'the elector of Saxony, that they ſhall give him Erfurth, 'which belongs to the elector of Mentz. He muſt always 'rob ſomebody: it is his way.' Memoires, p. 206, 207. Voltaire correſponded with Frederick concerning the propoſed terms of peace; and complains, that the king ſent his confidential letters to London, and endeavoured to ſow diſſenſion between the court of France and their allies.

[113] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 203, 204.

will

will ever form one of the moſt ſplendid periods of the Britiſh annals [s].

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THE

[s] To the ſplendour of Mr. PITT's adminiſtration even foreign writers have borne teſtimony. Count ALGAROTTI ſays, 'It is to PITT that England is indebted for that fine 'illumination, which was exhibited laſt year in a certain houſe 'in London, in which every quarter of the globe had its par-'ticular window decorated with an inſcription. The taking 'of Goree and Senegal for AFRICA; that of Surat for ASIA; 'the victories at Minden, Cadiz, and Quiberon, for EUROPE; 'the conqueſt of Cape Breton, of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. for 'AMERICA: an illumination that the Romans never could 'have made, for want of a window.'—'PITT ſketches all 'the outlines of the different operations, though he does not, 'perhaps, finiſh the picture. He chuſes, however, perſons 'whom he knows to be equal to the taſk. He gives ſcope to 'the abilities of an ANSON, a HAWKE, a BOSCAWEN, a 'SAUNDERS, a GRANBY, a WOLFE, a MURRAY, and an 'AMHERST; and does not ſuffer them to remain inactive or 'unemployed.'—'As inacceſſible to bribes as a Fabricius or 'a Curius, ſober, indefatigable, firm in his deſigns, vigorous 'in executing them, nervous in his language, attentive to no 'other object but the glory of his nation, which he conſiders 'as his own, he has arrived by honourable means to that de-'gree of greatneſs, which is ſeldom attained without mean 'intrigues, and artifices at court. He is not much given to 'fineſſe in his political negociations: with a heart full of zeal 'for the public good, and a mind firmly directed towards it, 'he attends only to eſſentials, and follows the conciſe and 'concluſive method of the Romans. When called to the 'helm of ſtate, he found the treaty of Pruſſia already formed. 'His firſt public act was to ſend back the Heſſians and Hano-'verians, and to raiſe in their room a national militia, for the 'defence of the kingdom.'—'Notwithſtanding that PITT

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THE pacific declarations of the ſeveral belligerent powers did not produce any real effect, or prevent the continuance of hoſtilities. General Laudohn, with a ſtrong, but light and diſencumbered army, moved from a camp which he had occupied during the winter in Bohemia, and preſenting himſelf alternately on the ſide of Luſatia, and on the frontiers of Sileſia, threatened ſometimes to penetrate to Berlin, ſometimes by a bold ſtroke to effect a junction with the Ruſſians, and attack prince Henry, and ſometimes to

' ſent troops to the electorate of Hanover, Engliſh armaments ' appeared every day upon the coaſts of France. One would ' imagine, that under him the number of people was multi- ' plied. He inſpired into all the noble thirſt of conqueſt and ' of glory. That rooted animoſity, which has always ſub- ' ſiſted between the ſailors and the ſoldiers, between the com- ' manders by ſea and thoſe by land, he found means to con- ' vert into a laudable emulation, which ſhould moſt effectually ' ſerve their country.' Letters military and political, p. 120 —131.

Monſ. LAUREAU, ſpeaking of the period of Mr. PITT's adminiſtration, ſays, ' Since the fall of Tyre and Carthage, ' the world has never ſeen a ſpectacle equal to that exhibited ' by ENGLAND towards the middle of this century. The ' ſeas were covered with her veſſels; her victorious flag was ' hoiſted in every harbour of the univerſe. Commerce, ſub- ' ſervient to her laws, regularly paid, in her iſle, the tribute ' of all nations. Her intrepid ſailors, uniting fame with in- ' tereſt, with one hand poured forth the horn of plenty, and ' with the other raiſed her ſail, which covered the remainder ' of the globe.' Eloge de Frederic II. p. 18.

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ſit down before Glatz, Schweidnitz, or Breſlaw [114]. By theſe manœuvres he kept the Pruſſians in continual alarm, as they knew not on which ſide the ſtorm would fall. Having by ſeveral feints led general Fouquet to believe, that his intentions were againſt Schweidnitz, that general marched thither a conſiderable body of Pruſſian troops, and left Glatz uncovered. When Laudohn perceived, that this ſtratagem had ſucceeded, he immediately made uſe of another, and with equal ſucceſs. He took poſſeſſion of Landſhut, which he diſcovered a deſign of ſecuring, and left there a ſmall body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at ſo unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Auſtrians from Landſhut without difficulty; but, in the mean time, Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important paſſes, by which he was in ſome degree enabled to ſurround the corps of general Fouquet. The Pruſſian commander did every thing poſſible, in ſuch circumſtances, to defend himſelf againſt a ſuperior enemy [T]. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The

[114] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 381.

[T] The king of Pruſſia, ſpeaking of this attack by the Auſtrian general, ſays, that 'it was a fine opportunity of 'acquiring fame at a ſmall expence. Laudohn, oppoſed by 'eight thouſand Pruſſians, came to the attack with twenty-'eight thouſand Auſtrians; but, to render himſelf ſtill more

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The Auſtrians attacked his entrenchments, near LANDSHUT, with great fury, on the twenty-third of June. The Pruſſians defended themſelves very gallantly, and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made of the Auſtrians; but general Fouquet having received two wounds, and four thouſand of his troops being ſlain, the remainder of his army, amounting to ſeven thouſand, ſurrendered

'ſecure, he was determined to add ſtratagem to ſtrength. On 'the night of the twenty-third of June, he ſeized on two 'heights, on which was the right of general Fouquet. Theſe 'important poſts rendered it eaſy for him to eſtabliſh batte-'ries, which ſhould take the Pruſſians in flank and rear. M. 'Fouquet valiantly defended his remaining poſts. After ſuf-'fering great loſs, he perceived a column of Auſtrian cavalry 'in full march to cut off his retreat. On this he abandoned 'his hills, and formed his infantry into a ſquare, with which 'he marched to gain the road of Bolkenhayn. His troops 'had conſumed almoſt all their powder. The Auſtrian 'cavalry attacked, and were ſeveral times repulſed. After a 'noble and generous defence, the ſquare was broken by the 'enemy. M. Fouquet received two wounds; and was taken 'priſoner, with the greateſt part of his troops. He had de-'fended himſelf from two in the morning to ten in the fore-'noon; and, far from ſuffering in his reputation, ſo long and 'ſo well eſtabliſhed, he encreaſed it by his conduct on this 'occaſion, which furniſhed an example of what valour and 'fortitude may effect againſt numbers, be their ſuperiority 'what it may. This ſplendid action may be compared to 'that of Leonidas and the Greeks who defended the ſtreights 'of Thermopylæ; which had nearly a ſimilar termination.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 86, 87, 88.

them-

themſelves priſoners of war [115]. Fifty-eight pieces of artillery, and many military trophies, alſo fell into the hands of the Auſtrians; and general Laudohn ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Glatz, where there were more than one hundred braſs cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

ON the ſecond of July, the king himſelf having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding towards Sileſia, quitted his ſtrong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and began his march [u] in two columns through Luſatia. Count Daun no ſooner had advice of his march, than he alſo immediately moved, with the utmoſt expedition, at the head of his main army, towards Sileſia; leaving the army of the empire, and a body of troops under general Laſcy, to guard Saxony in his abſence. The two armies continued their route through Luſatia; that of the king a little to the northward, and that of marechal Daun to the ſouthward; both apparently puſhing towards the ſame object. But when the king was apprized, that count Daun had gained full two

[115] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, and Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

[u] Frederick on this occaſion marched with ſuch rapidity, that he ſays himſelf, ſpeaking of the ſixth of July, 'The 'heat on that day was ſo exceſſive, that eighty men dropped 'dead on the march.' Hiſt. de la Guerre Sept Ans, p. 93.

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days march upon him; that he had actually arrived at Gorlitz, and was puſhing by forced marches to Lauban; he immediately wheeled into the oppoſite direction, repaſſed the Spree near Bautzen, and whilſt he was ſuppoſed to be on the frontiers of Sileſia, ſuddenly and unexpectedly appeared before Dreſden, on the thirteenth of the month. The army of the empire retired, and the corps under the command of count Laſcy changed its ſituation.

THE unfortunate capital of Saxony, which had before ſuffered much calamity from the king of Pruſſia, was now again expoſed to the miſeries of a ſiege. The Auſtrian governor, general Macguire, being ſummoned to ſurrender, anſwered, that having the honour to be entruſted with the defence of the capital; he would maintain it to the laſt extremity. Batteries were immediately raiſed againſt the town on both ſides of the Elbe; and the ſuburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried. In the mean time, count Daun having received information of Frederick's return to Saxony, and of the ſiege of Dreſden, immediately marched back, and that with ſuch rapidity, that on the nineteenth of the month he reached the neighbourhood of Dreſden. In conſequence of his approach, the Pruſſian monarch, whoſe heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts againſt the city, ſo as to reduce to aſhes

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aſhes ſeveral of the churches [x], the new ſquare, ſeveral noble ſtreets, and ſome palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. The ſiege continued till the twenty-ſecond of the month, but marechal-Daun having thrown ſixteen battalions into the city on the preceding night, Frederick abandoned his undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to bring the Auſtrian general to an engagement.

THE king of Poland, who was extremely affected at the devaſtation that had been made, during this ſhort ſiege, in the capital of his electoral dominions, publiſhed a memorial on the occaſion at Vienna, in which were the following paſſages: 'Since the troubles began, 'that deſolate Germany, his majeſty the king of 'Poland elector of Saxony, hath been too often 'obliged to make juſt complaints to his high

[x] Dr. Burney, after deſcribing the *Frauen Kirche*, or great Lutheran church of our Lady at Dreſden, which, he ſays, 'is a very noble and elegant building, of white ſtone, with a 'high dome in the middle,' adds farther, 'The king of 'Pruſſia, in his laſt bombardment of Dreſden, tried every 'means in his power to beat this church, as well as the other 'public buildings, about the ears of the inhabitants; but in 'vain: for the orbicular form of the dome threw off the balls 'and ſhells, and totally prevented their effect. However, he 'ſucceeded better in five or ſix other churches, which he 'totally demoliſhed.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 32.

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'allies, to the diet of the empire, and to all 'Europe. Stripped of his hereditary dominions 'by a neighbour, who, on entering them, aſked 'only a paſſage through them, made proteſta-'tions of friendſhip towards the ſovereign, and 'declared he had no ground of complaint againſt 'him, nor any claim on the country; the king 'could not but look on the acts of hoſtility, 'committed by the Pruſſians, as ſo many inju-'ries, as ſo many breaches of the law of nations, 'and manifeſt violations of the laws of the em-'pire. But things were ſoon carried to ſuch a 'length, that SAXONY would have thought her-'ſelf too happy to find in the king of Pruſſia, 'not a depoſitary, but a declared enemy, pro-'vided this enemy would have reſpected the 'laws and cuſtoms of war, which humanity pre-'ſcribes, and which all civilized nations have 'hitherto obſerved. She would not, in that 'caſe, have ſeen her towns ſubjected to contri-'butions, which exceed all meaſure [Y]; the 'ſuburbs

[Y] It is ſaid, that 'the contributions that Frederick drew 'from Saxony, in 1760, amounted to more than two millions 'of crowns, together with ten thouſand recruits, ſeveral hun-'dred thouſand buſhels of corn, and many thouſand horſes, 'oxen, ſheep, &c. The fineſt foreſts were alſo cut down and 'ſold.' Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 114.

Of the Pruſſian mode of raiſing recruits in Saxony, the following account was publiſhed about this time: 'The Pruſſians 'have carried off from Tchoppau and Chemnitz, rich manu-'facturing

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'ſuburbs of the capital ſet on fire, without ne-
'ceſſity; the lands laid waſte; and, what com-
'pletes her misfortunes, her young men torn
'from her by force, and conſtrained to bear
'arms againſt their ſovereign. Horrid treat-
'ment! and ſo oppoſite to humanity, that it is
'without example, not among civilized nations
'only, but even among the greateſt barbarians.

'SUNK under ſuch grievous oppreſſions,
'Saxony ſeemed to have no room to fear that
'her condition would be worſe. Nevertheleſs,
'ſhe hath found within the ſpace of the laſt
'year, that freſh misfortunes were in reſerve for
'her; and that, if the Pruſſians ſeemed for ſome
'time to preſerve the country, it was only that
'they themſelves might enjoy its produce. This
'tenderneſs was not dictated by humanity, but
'by intereſt. As the danger of being expelled
'Saxony increaſed, they diſplayed their cruelty.
'If they quitted any part of the country without
'hope of returning, they gave it up to pillage.
'Wherever they came, the unhappy peaſant
'was plundered without mercy; grain, forage,
'horſes, cattle of all kinds, were taken from
'him; and he was left without ſubſiſtence.

'facturing towns in Saxony, every man fit to carry arms,
'without any regard to the remonſtrances of the manufactu-
'rers, or to the cries of their diſtreſſed wives and children.'
Gent. Mag. for February, 1761, p. 93.

'Whole

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'Whole families, and the beſt workmen of all 'ſorts, were carried off. Even women found 'no ſafeguard in their ſex; but all, who were 'thought uſeful for Brandenburgh, were torn 'from their families, and carried into ſlavery.

'THE city of DRESDEN remained. Notwith-'ſtanding the ruin of its ſuburbs, it ſtill main-'tained a numerous people: it was the reſource 'of the neighbouring country. To complete 'the ruin of Saxony, the unfortunate city was 'to be deſtroyed. Had the enemy attacked the 'place according to the rules and cuſtoms of 'war, had they directed their efforts againſt the 'ramparts, the king would, without doubt, have 'lamented the evils that would have reſulted 'from it to his people; but he would have 'lamented them without complaining: and 'though, in the fierceſt wars, the reſidences of 'ſovereigns have hitherto been generally ſpared, 'his majeſty would have been ſilent; for, in 'ſhort, one is accuſtomed to conſider the king 'of Pruſſia not as an ordinary enemy. But the 'Pruſſians made war on the innocent townſmen; 'their fire was wholly directed againſt the houſes; 'and they endeavoured to deſtroy a town which 'they could not take.

'THE king cannot forbear pointing out to all 'Europe this remarkable circumſtance, that the 'enemy redoubled their fire againſt the houſes 'of Dreſden, and did them the greateſt damage,

'when

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'when the arrival of marechal Daun, with his whole army, left them no hope of being able to take the place; and, in ſhort, that in drawing off their men from the ſuburbs before Wilſdruff-gate, they laid in aſhes upwards of an hundred houſes that had eſcaped in the preceding fires. The king of Pruſſia ſucceeded in completing the misfortunes of Saxony, by the diſaſters that befel the capital. Three hundred and fifty houſes deſtroyed, with all that was in them, and a great many others half ruined, are a fatal loſs to a city already exhauſted by four ſucceſſive years of misfortunes. After theſe things, the king thinks it ſcarcely worth while to mention his palaces and his gardens, which were ſacked and ruined, in contempt of the regard uſually paid by one ſovereign to another. Is there a man in the empire, or even in all Europe, who doth not ſee in theſe terrible effects an implacable hatred, and a deſtructive fury, which all nations ought to concur in repreſſing[116]?'

AFTER general Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of Glatz, as I have already mentioned, he proceeded immediately to Breſlaw, and laid ſiege to that city. Having ſummoned the Pruſſian governor, count Taventzein, to ſurrender, that officer replied, that he ſhould defend the place to

[116] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 208, 209.

the

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the laſt extremity. Laudohn thereupon opened his batteries on the firſt of Auguſt, and poured in upon the town a moſt terrible ſhower of bombs and red-hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful diſcharge, which filled the place with horror and deſolation, the Auſtrian general attempted the outworks by aſſault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their uſual impetuoſity; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by the conduct and reſolution of the governor and garriſon. General Laudohn, however, continued to bombard the city, a conſiderable part of which was reduced to aſhes [z]. But prince Henry of Pruſſia having received intelligence, that the Ruſſian army intended to join general Laudohn at Breſlaw, reſolved to advance, with the troops under his command, and to relieve that city before the propoſed junction. He marched more than one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage, and arrived within a few miles of

[z] It was remarked, that, during this ſhort ſiege, the Auſtrians had killed the fineſt ſoldier in the Pruſſian army, and the moſt beautiful woman in Breſlaw, and deſtroyed the handſomeſt edifice in that city. The ſoldier, who was much admired for his perſon, belonged to the regiment of guards; and the female, who was alſo killed, was a young lady of the name of Muller. The edifice deſtroyed was the palace of prince Hatzfeld. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II, p. 268.

Breſlaw

Breſlaw on the fifth of Auguſt. General Laudohn did not chuſe to hazard an action with the Pruſſians, till he had formed a junction with the Ruſſians; and, therefore, abandoned the ſiege on the approach of prince Henry [117].

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[117] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 184. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 19.

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Frederick marches into Sileſia.—Battle of Lignitz.—Letter from the king to the marquis D'Argens.—He forms a junction with his brother prince Henry, and raiſes the ſiege of Schweidnitz.—The Ruſſians and Auſtrians enter the Marche of Brandenburgh, and make themſelves maſters of Berlin.—After a ſhort ſtay, the Ruſſians retire into Poland, and the Auſtrians into Saxony.—Progreſs of the Imperialiſts and Auſtrians in Saxony.—Battle of Torgau.—The king's correſpondence with the counteſs de Camas.—He puts his troops into winter-quarters.

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WHEN the king of Pruſſia found himſelf obliged, by count Daun, to raiſe the ſiege of Dreſden, he reſolved immediately to march into Sileſia. Having left general Hulſen, with fifteen thouſand men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony, he began his march for Sileſia on the third of Auguſt. He was followed by count Daun with the grand Auſtrian army; while a detached body of Auſtrians, under general Laſcy, took poſt at Rechenberg, and the army of the empire encamped at Keſſeldorff. Frederick paſſed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiſs, the Quieſs, and the Bober; and marched with extraordinary rapidity,

rapidity, though his army was encumbered with its heavy artillery, and more than two thouſand waggons. But notwithſtanding the celerity of his march, before he could come to any action, marechal Daun, with the main Auſtrian army, had formed a junction with general Laudohn, and they were ſoon after joined by count Laſcy. The Auſtrians then extended themſelves along the Katſbach, a river which falls into the Oder, and occupied all the ground from Parchwitz to Coſſendau, a ſpace of little leſs than thirty Engliſh miles. But, in this extent, their poſts were every where ſtrong, and their communications eaſy. On the tenth of Auguſt, Frederick encamped at LIGNITZ: but it was in vain that, for ſeveral days, he attempted, by various devices, to detach one body of the enemy from the reſt, or to turn their flanks, and attack them at diſadvantage. The nature of the ground, or the ſkill of the oppoſite generals, always diſappointed him [118].

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IN this ſtate of things, the king received information, that twenty-four thouſand Ruſſians, under count Czernichef, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to croſs that river: and he concluded, that the enemy had formed a deſign to cloſe him in, and to attack him with their joint forces. But before any

[118] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 26, 27.

junction

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junction could take place between the Ruſſians and the Auſtrians, as the latter were, without any ſuch junction, greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, marechal Daun, having reconnoitred the king's ſituation at LIGNITZ, had formed a deſign of attacking him by ſurprize, in the night, or early in the morning, with the united ſtrength of the three Auſtrian armies; and he had communicated his intentions to the two other generals. From the motions of the Auſtrian general, the king of Pruſſia conjectured his deſign; he, therefore, quitted his camp, in the night, with the utmoſt privacy, and occupied an advantageous poſt on the heights of PSAFFENDORFF, by which general Laudohn was to have advanced. The Pruſſians had but juſt arrived at their new ſituation, when they received information, about two o'clock in the morning, that general Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns advanced by Bennowitz. The Pruſſian army thereupon ſeparated into two bodies; the right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to obſerve marechal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from the Schwartzwaſſer and through LIGNITZ [119]; and ſixteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons wheeled about, in order to attack general Laudohn the moment he arrived.

[119] Univerſal Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 159, from the London Gazette.

AT

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AT three in the morning, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, the Auſtrian general had advanced to the village of PSAFFENDORFF, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually diſperſing, the Pruſſian army appeared in order of battle, in a well choſen ſituation, and ſtrengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the beſt advantage. General Laudohn was aſtoniſhed to find the Pruſſians in this ſituation, of which he had not entertained the moſt diſtant conception. He formed his troops, however, as well as the time, place, and circumſtances would permit; and the Pruſſians advancing to the attack, a ſevere action enſued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and ſuperintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the moſt dangerous ſcenes of the battle; ſo that his horſe was killed under him, and his clothes were ſhot through in ſeveral places [120]. The Auſtrians maintained the fight with great obſtinacy until ſix in the morning, when they gave ground, and were purſued to the Katzbach, beyond which Frederick would not allow his troops to proſecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to ſuccour the right, in caſe marechal Daun ſhould ſucceed in his attempt to advance againſt them from LIGNITZ. That general had, indeed, made his approaches to the camp which the Pruſſians

[120] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 272.

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had juſt before occupied; and was much ſurprized, on his arrival at Lignitz, to find no enemy there. But when he perceived a thick cloud of ſmoke at a diſtance, he comprehended what had happened, and endeavoured to advance to the ſupport of Laudohn by the way of Lignitz. This, however, was prevented, by the Pruſſian troops and artillery which had been left to diſpute his march, which were ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, as to render all his efforts abortive.

IN the battle of LIGNITZ, the loſs on the ſide of the Auſtrians amounted to ten thouſand men, killed, wounded, and priſoners; together with twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Pruſſians was computed at ſeventeen hundred killed and wounded. Immediately after the action, Frederick marched to Parchwitz; while marechal Daun detached a ſtrong body of troops, under prince Lowenſtein and general Beck, to ſtrengthen the Ruſſians, and to encourage them to advance. But count Czernichef was ſo much alarmed by the defeat of the Auſtrians at Lignitz, and was alſo ſo deceived by a ſtratagem of Frederick's [A], that,

[A] In order to deceive count Czernichef, the Ruſſian general, and to prevent him from attempting to join the Auſtrians, Frederick wrote a letter to his brother prince Henry, ſtating, that he had completely defeated the Auſtrians, that he was conſtructing a bridge over the Oder, and, after paſſing that river, hoped to attack the Ruſſians commanded by

that, instead of advancing, he repassed the Oder by the same bridges on which he had lately crossed it [121]. By the victory, therefore, which the king of Prussia had obtained, and by his art and dexterity, he not only escaped the imminent danger of a defeat from the joint efforts of the different Austrian armies, but also prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian forces [B]. CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1760.

by general Soltikow with equal success. He, therefore, intreated his brother, to make such motions on his part as had been concerted between them. This letter was consigned to a peasant, who was ordered to throw himself in the way of general Czernichef's advanced parties, that he might be taken by them. The peasant was accordingly made prisoner, and the king's letter was conveyed to the Russian general, who was completely deceived by it, and thereby prevented from attempting to form any junction with the Austrians. Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 126, 127, 128, 129.

[121] Annual Register, ut supra, p. 29.

[B] In an account of some of the operations of this campaign, which was published by authority at Berlin, it is said, that 'the battle of LIGNITZ stopped the execution of the 'designs of the king's enemies against him, and disconcerted 'their plan for the rest of the campaign. Three armies, each 'of them superior in number to that of the king, which had 'even entirely surrounded him, and which counted so much 'on the success of the measures they had taken to overwhelm 'him, that they had even fixed the day which was to decide 'his fate, were, by this victory, reduced for a long time to 'total inaction, and obliged to think more of defending themselves, than of forming offensive enterprizes.' Grand Mag. vol. III. p. 614.

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BUT notwithſtanding the advantage which he had gained by his ſucceſs in this action, he was ſtill ſurrounded by numerous enemies, and his ſituation was extremely critical. A letter, which he wrote ſoon after the battle of Lignitz to the marquis D'Argens, who had congratulated him upon his victory, was intercepted by a Ruſſian detachment, and was afterwards printed and circulated about, with a view of diſpiriting his friends. Of that letter, which contains ſome obſervations on his ſituation at this time, the following is a tranſlation:

'FORMERLY, my dear marquis, the affair of 'the 15th of Auguſt would have decided a cam- 'paign: at preſent, that action is no more than 'a ſcratch. A great battle muſt determine our 'fate. We ſhall have one, according to all 'appearances, very ſoon; and then, if the event 'be favourable to us, we may rejoice. I return 'you thanks, however, for the ſincere part you 'take in the late advantage which I have ob- 'tained. It required many ſtratagems, and 'much addreſs, to bring things to that paſs. 'Do not talk to me of danger; the laſt action 'coſt me only a ſuit of clothes and a horſe. 'That is buying victory very cheap.

'I HAVE not received the letter which you 'mention. We are in a manner blocked up, in 'regard to correſpondence, by the Ruſſians on 'one ſide the Oder, and by the Auſtrians on the 'other.

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'other. A ſmall ſkirmiſh was neceſſary to clear 'the way for Cocceii [c]: I hope that he will 'deliver you my letter.

'I NEVER was, in the courſe of my life, in a 'more embarraſſing ſituation than in this cam-'paign. Believe me, nothing leſs than a miracle 'is ſtill neceſſary to extricate me from the diffi-'culties that I foreſee. I ſhall certainly do my 'duty when occaſion offers; but, my dear mar-'quis, always remember, that I pretend not to 'command fortune, and that I am obliged, in 'my projects, to leave too much to chance, be-'cauſe I have it not in my power to form ſchemes 'that are more ſolid. I have the labours of a 'Hercules to undergo, at a time of life when 'my ſtrength fails me, and my infirmities in-'creaſe; and, to ſpeak the truth, when hope, 'the only conſolation of the unhappy, begins to 'deſert me. You are not ſufficiently acquainted 'with the circumſtances of affairs, to have a 'clear idea of all the dangers which threaten 'the ſtate. I know, but conceal them: I keep 'all my fears to myſelf; and only communicate 'to the public my hopes, or the little good news 'that I can acquaint them with. If the blow 'that I meditate ſucceeds, then, my dear mar-'quis, it will be time enough to expreſs our joy,

[c] Cocceii was the name of the aid-de-camp, who was charged with the care of this letter.

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'But, till then, let us not flatter ourſelves, leſt, 'by ſome unexpected ill news, we ſhould be too 'much dejected.

'I LEAD here the life of a military monk. I 'have much to think of about my affairs; and 'the reſt of my time I devote to literature, 'which is my conſolation, as it was that of the 'conſul, the father of his country, and of elo-'quence. I know not whether I ſhall ſurvive 'this war; but, if that ſhould be the caſe, I am 'reſolved to paſs the remainder of my days in 'retirement, in the boſom of philoſophy and 'of friendſhip.

'WHEN our correſpondence ſhall be more 'open, you will oblige me by writing more fre-'quently. I know not where we ſhall have our 'winter-quarters. My houſe at Breſlaw was 'deſtroyed in the late bombardment. Our ene-'mies envy us every thing, even day light, and 'the air we breathe. They muſt, however, 'leave us ſome place; and, if it be ſafe, it will 'be a treat to receive you there.

'PRAY, my dear marquis, what is become of 'the peace with France? Your nation, you ſee, 'is more blind than you imagined. Thoſe fools 'loſe Canada, and Pondicherry, to pleaſe the 'queen of Hungary and the czarina. Heaven 'grant, that prince Ferdinand may well reward 'them for their zeal! The officers, innocent of 'theſe evils, and the ſoldiers, will be made the

'victims; and the illuſtrious offenders will ſuffer 'nothing.—I was in a writing vein, but I ſee 'that I muſt conclude, leſt I ſhould tire you, 'and neglect my own buſineſs. Adieu, my dear 'marquis; I embrace you [122].

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FROM Parchwitz the king of Pruſſia proceeded to Newmarcke, where he formed a junction with his brother prince Henry. He then advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was now blocked up by the Auſtrian army under the command of count Daun. In his march, he fell upon a ſeparate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats priſoners, and diſperſed ſeveral ſquadrons. The Auſtrian general then raiſed the blockade of Schweidnitz, and retreated to the mountains of Landſhut.

But whilſt Frederick was exerting himſelf with the utmoſt activity againſt his enemies in Sileſia, the capital of his dominions was attacked both by the Auſtrians and the Ruſſians. After the Ruſſian army had retreated out of Sileſia, count Czernichef, with a ſtrong detachment, entered the Marche of Brandenburgh; while a numerous body of Auſtrians and Imperialiſts, under the generals Laſcy and Brentano, penetrated into the ſame country from Saxony, with inſtructions to

[122] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom II. p. 126, 127, 128. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 31, 32. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. IV. p. 400, 401.

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join the Ruſſians at the gates of BERLIN. General Hulſen, who had commanded a body of Pruſſian troops againſt the Imperialiſts in Miſnia, now drew near to Berlin, where he was joined by another body of troops under general Werner, which had lately returned from Pomerania. But as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed ſixteen thouſand men, and the Ruſſians, Auſtrians, and Imperialiſts, amounted to forty thouſand, they would not pretend to oppoſe the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of ſuch extent, and ſo imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt, they thought, would only have expoſed their troops to ruin, without being able to ſave the capital, which would probably be the more ſeverely treated, in conſequence of their oppoſition. They, therefore, reſolved to retire, after having repulſed the advanced guard of the Ruſſians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and began to bombard the city, before the great armies appeared. At their approach, the Pruſſian generals retreated to Spandau, leaving three weak battalions in Berlin, in hopes that they might be the means of obtaining ſome terms for the city. On the firſt ſummons, articles of capitulation were propoſed; but theſe were refuſed, and the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In favour of the city, however, the foreign miniſters, reſident at Berlin, interpoſed their mediation with ſuch zeal

and

and ſucceſs, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their perſons and effects. It was agreed, that the Ruſſian irregulars ſhould not enter the city; and that the king's palace ſhould not be violated. Theſe articles being ratified, the Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered the place, where they totally deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, with an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, and a great number of cannon and ſmall arms. They then demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns. Sundry precautions appear to have been adopted by the Auſtrian and Ruſſian officers, in order to obſerve an exact diſcipline; notwithſtanding which many outrages were committed by the licentious ſoldiery. But the country of Brandenburgh ſuffered more ſeverely on this occaſion than the city of Berlin; for the country had made no conditions; and it was found extremely difficult to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the Ruſſian Coſſacks. The apartments of the royal palace of Charlottenburgh were plundered, the furniture ſpoiled, the pictures defaced, and ſome fine antique ſtatues, which had been collected by cardinal Polignac, and afterwards purchaſed by the king of Pruſſia, were mutilated and

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and damaged. The caſtle of Schonhauſen, belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, belonging to the margrave Charles, were alſo plundered. But the king's favourite palace of Sans-Souci was effectually protected by prince Eſterhaſi, who commanded at Potſdam. That prince, who was a general in the Auſtrian ſervice, would not ſuffer the leaſt injury to be done to this palace; but having inquired which of the portraits of the king in the palace reſembled him moſt, deſired leave to take that picture, and two of his German flutes, which he ſhould preſerve, he ſaid, as memorials of his Pruſſian majeſty [123].

IT was on the ninth of October that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian troops entered Berlin, and they quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. The body of Ruſſians, which had entered Berlin, marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furſtenwalde, while the Auſtrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburgh. In their retreat, by different routes, they drove away all the cattle and horſes they could find, ravaged the country, and are ſaid to have committed many outrages on the inhabitants. But ſome accounts, which were

[123] Smollett, *ubi ſupra*, p. 276, 277. Annual Regiſter, p. 44, 45. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 273.

after-

afterwards publiſhed at Berlin, of the behaviour of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in that city, and in the country of Brandenburgh, appear to contain much exaggeration. CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1760.

WHILE the Ruſſians and Auſtrians were employed in invading the electorate of Brandenburgh, the duke de Deuxponts, at the head of the army of the empire, together with ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops, took poſſeſſion of Torgau and Leipſic, and all the other great towns in Saxony, excepting Dreſden; and the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts became maſters on both ſides of the Elbe. A detachment from the French army in Weſtphalia alſo laid Halberſtadt under contribution; and one part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Ruſſians, who had inveſted Colberg both by ſea and land.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia was informed, that his enemies had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburgh, inſtead of proceeding thither, he immediately paſſed the Elbe, and ruſhed into Saxony. Marechal Daun followed him, with an army of eighty thouſand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and his left being ſecured by ponds, hills, and woods [124]. It was on the twenty-ſeventh of October, that the right wing

[124] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 389.

of

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of the king of Pruſſia's army paſſed the Elbe at Reſlau, where he was joined by the troops under general Hulſen and the prince of Wirtemberg. On the day following, the right wing proceeded to Kemberg, where it rejoined the left, which had croſſed the Elbe at Bleſſern. The Pruſſian army then encamped on the right of the Mulda, the reſerve, under general Hulſen, extending to Taucha. The army of the empire thereupon retreated, and general Hulſen took poſſeſſion of Leipſic, and afterwards rejoined the main Pruſſian army.

THE ſituation of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period was ſo extremely critical, and his enemies ſo numerous and ſo formidable, that he reſolved at all events to hazard a battle with the main Auſtrian army; though it was ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, and ſo ſtrongly poſted, as to render the attempt apparently highly dangerous and imprudent. He told his principal officers, that he was about to lead them on to a moſt deſperate attempt, that his affairs required it, and that he was determined to conquer, or die in the expected engagement. They anſwered, with ardour, that they would die, or conquer with him. He divided his army into three bodies: general Hulſen, with one of theſe bodies, was directed to take poſt in a wood on the left of the Auſtrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other diviſions

of

of the Pruſſian army were engaged; general Ziethen was inſtructed to charge on the enemy's right; and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by the king himſelf in perſon [125]. CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1760.

WHEN marechal Daun found, that the king of Pruſſia was determined to attack him, which at firſt he could ſcarcely credit, he ſent all his baggage, with a view of preventing confuſion, over the Elbe, acroſs which he threw three bridges, to be ready in caſe a retreat ſhould be found neceſſary; and, at the ſame time, he cauſed TORGAU to be evacuated. Then extending his firſt line to a village called Zinne on the left, he ſtretched it to another called Groſwitz on the right; ſupporting the right of his ſecond line upon the Elbe. In this diſpoſition he was found, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the third of November, 1760, when the king began his attack, and was received by the fire of four hundred pieces of cannon, which were arranged along the Auſtrian front.

THE Pruſſians commenced the battle with the moſt deſperate animoſity; but they met with ſuch a warm reception from the artillery, ſmall arms, and in particular from the Auſtrian carabiniers, that their grenadiers were ſhattered and

[125] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 47. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 590.

repulſed.

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repulſed. The ſecond charge, though made with extraordinary vigour, was equally unſucceſsful. Frederick then ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon ſome regiments of infantry with ſuch fury as compelled them to give way. But theſe were obliged to retire, in their turn, before ſeven battalions of the Auſtrians, who advanced towards TORGAU, ſtretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to the Zinne. The prince of Holſtein then rallied the Pruſſian cavalry, and returned to the charge. The third line of Pruſſian infantry alſo attacked the village of Suptitz, and general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in the rear. This diſpoſition threw the Auſtrians into diſorder, and their defeat was facilitated by marechal Daun receiving ſo dangerous a wound in the thigh, as rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould be carried off the field of battle. He reſigned the command of the army to general Buccow; but his arm was ſhot off in a few minutes after, and the command then devolved upon general Odonell, an officer of great merit, who was deſcended from a good family in Ireland. The Auſtrians, however, were at length obliged to retreat; and they croſſed the Elbe on the bridges of boats, which had been thrown over the river at TORGAU. The Pruſſians were the leſs able to proſecute their victory, becauſe the action had laſted until nine

at

at night, and the night was unuſually dark [D]. The king himſelf, as uſual, expoſed his perſon

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[D] Frederick ſays, 'After the battle, the Imperialiſts and 'Pruſſians were ſo near to each other, among the vineyards 'of Suptitz, that many officers and ſoldiers, on both ſides, 'wandering in the dark, were made priſoners after the battle 'was over, and all was tranquil. The king himſelf, as he 'was repairing to the village of Neiden, as well to expedite 'orders relative to the victory, as to ſend intelligence of it 'into Brandenburgh and Sileſia, heard the ſound of a carriage 'near the army. The word was demanded, and the reply 'was, *Auſtrian.* The eſcort of the king fell on, and took 'two pieces of cannon, and a battalion of pandours, who had 'loſt themſelves in conſequence of the darkneſs of the night. 'An hundred paces farther, he came up with a troop of 'horſe, who again gave the word, *Auſtrian carabiniers.* The 'king's eſcort attacked and diſperſed them in the foreſt. 'Thoſe who were taken declared, that they had loſt their 'way with M. de Ried in the wood, and that they had ſup-'poſed that the Imperialiſts remained maſters of the field. 'The whole foreſt, which the Pruſſian army had croſſed be-'fore the battle, and at the ſide of which the king was then 'riding, was filled with large fires. As it could not be 'gueſſed what theſe were, ſome huſſars were ſent to obtain 'information. They returned, and related, that ſoldiers ſur-'rounded the fires, ſome in blue uniforms, and others in 'white. As more exact information was neceſſary, ſome 'officers were then ſent, who learnt a very ſingular fact, of 'which I doubt whether any example can be found in hiſtory. 'The ſoldiers were of both armies, and had ſought an aſylum 'in the wood; where they had paſſed an act of neutrality, 'to wait till fortune had decided in favour of the Pruſſians 'or the Imperialiſts; and they had mutually agreed to follow 'the victorious party.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 170, 171.

in

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in the moſt dangerous parts of the battle, and was ſlightly wounded by a muſket ball upon the breaſt [E].

THE

[E] It appears from ſome anecdotes which are related concerning the king after this battle, that other balls had penetrated his clothes. It alſo appears from the ſame anecdotes, that he was not ſo much with his guards during this action as uſual; and, from the particulars that are mentioned, it ſeems that he ſometimes let his ſoldiers, and particularly his guards, take great liberties with him. It is ſaid, that the night after the battle of TORGAU being very cold, large fires were made, near one of which the king ſtood to warm himſelf, ſurrounded by ſome of his grenadier guards. The name of one of thoſe who ſtood neareſt him was REBIAK; and with this man the king often converſed very familiarly, and frequently gave him money. On this occaſion Rebiak aſked his majeſty, who had commended his guards for their bravery, where he himſelf had been during moſt of the battle? 'Generally,' ſaid he, 'we have been accuſtomed to ſee you at 'our head; and to be led on by you to the hotteſt fire. But 'to-day we have ſeen very little of you. You did not uſe 'to deſert us thus formerly.' Frederick mildly replied, that he had been in another part of the action, where his preſence had been more neceſſary, which had prevented him from being with his guards as uſual. During this converſation, the king growing warm with the heat of the fire, unbuttoned his ſurtout; and then the ſoldiers obſerved a muſquet-ball fall from his clothes; and from the holes, which had been made in his clothes, they alſo perceived the dangers he had encountered. The grenadiers then exclaimed, 'Thou art 'our old FRITZ; thou partakeſt every danger with us; and 'we will die for thee. *Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*' FRITZ was a diminutive of FREDERICK, and was expreſſive of familiarity and affection.

Another

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THE battle of TORGAU was a very hard contested battle, and though the Prussians gained the victory, their loss in killed and wounded [F] was very great. Frederick says, 'This battle 'cost the Prussians thirteen thousand men, three 'thousand of whom were killed, and three thou-

Another grenadier afterwards said to the king, 'Now, I 'suppose, Fritz, thou wilt allow us good winter-quarters.' '*Par tous les diables*,' exclaimed the king, 'I shall not, till 'we have taken Dresden; and then I will provide for you to 'your heart's content.' During this conversation, some of the old grenadiers had lighted their short pipes, and as they crowded round the king, perfumed him very liberally with the smoke of their tobacco. One of them then said to the others, 'Keep back.' 'No, stay my boys,' said the king, 'I like 'the smell.' But though the king was thus willing to keep his grenadiers in good humour, it was well known, that he had a great dislike to the smell of tobacco.

Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 275, 276. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 61, 62, 63.

It appears from several anecdotes which are related of the king, that he sometimes swore in conversation; and Voltaire says of him, 'He has a pleasing tone of voice, even in swear-'ing, which is as familiar to him as to a grenadier.' Idée du Roi de Prusse, p. 4.

[F] Among the wounded, in the battle of Torgau, was an inferior officer, who had much distinguished himself in the action, and who had his right hand shot off. After the battle, the king asked him, what recompence he should make him for the loss of his right hand? 'Sire,' replied the officer, 'only 'permit me to serve you with my left.' Frederick appeared struck with his answer, and immediately made him a captain.

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'ſand were taken priſoners by the enemy, during 'the firſt attacks, in which the Auſtrians had 'the advantage. M. Bulow and M. Finck were 'of this number. The breaſt of the king was 'grazed by a ball, and the margrave Charles 'received a contuſion. Several generals were 'wounded. The battle was obſtinately diſputed 'on both ſides. Its fury coſt the Imperialiſts 'twenty thouſand men, of whom eight thouſand 'were made priſoners, with four generals. They 'alſo loſt twenty-ſeven pair of colours, and fifty 'pieces of cannon. Marechal Daun was wounded 'in one of the firſt attacks [126].'

THE day after the battle, the king entered the town of Torgau; and, in conſequence of his victory, he recovered all Saxony, excepting Dreſden, before the end of the campaign. He had entertained, indeed, very ſtrong hopes of being able to regain poſſeſſion of Dreſden; but he was diſappointed; for general Odonell, after the battle, had retreated towards that city, provided for its ſafety, and taken poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Plauen; and the king found himſelf unable to diſlodge the Auſtrians from that ſituation. In the following letter, which was written, a few days after the battle, to the counteſs de Camas, grand miſtreſs of the queen's houſehold, for whom the king had a great eſteem, he has expreſſed his diſappointment reſpecting Dreſden:

[126] Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, ut ſupra, p. 171, 172.

'New-

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'Newſtadt, Nov. 11, 1760.

'I am punctual in anſwering, and eager to 'oblige you. Perſons of the ſame age agree 'wonderfully. I have given up ſuppers theſe 'four years, as incompatible with the buſineſs 'that I am forced to carry on; and, on marching 'days, my dinner is only a diſh of chocolate. 'We have been running like madmen, quite 'elated with victory, to ſee whether we could 'drive the Auſtrians from Dreſden; but they 'laughed at us from the tops of their mountains. 'I returned, like a diſappointed child, to hide 'my vexation in one of the moſt curſed villages 'of Saxony. We muſt now drive meſſieurs Les 'Cercles [c] out of Freyberg and Chemnitz, in 'order to get ſomething to eat, and a place to 'ſleep in.

'This is, I ſwear to you, ſuch a dog's life, as 'no one, except Don Quixote, ever led but my-'ſelf. All this buſtle, all this confuſion, which 'ſeems to be without end, has made me ſuch an 'old fellow, that you would hardly know me 'again. The hair on the right ſide of my head 'is grown quite grey; my teeth break, and fall 'out; my face is as full of wrinkles as the fur-'below of a petticoat; and my body arched like 'a monk's of La Trappe. I give you notice of 'all this, that, if we ſhould meet again in fleſh

[c] The king means the army of the empire.

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'and bone, you may not be too much ſhocked 'at my figure. Nothing belonging to me re- 'mains unaltered, except my heart, which, as 'long as I breathe, will retain ſentiments of 'eſteem, and of tender friendſhip, for my good 'mamma. Adieu [127].'

In another letter written to the ſame lady, dated the 27th of the ſame month, he ſays, 'We have 'ſettled our winter quarters; I have yet a little 'round to take, and afterwards I ſhall go and 'ſeek for tranquility at Leipſic, if it be to be 'found there; but, indeed, for me, tranquility 'is only a metaphyſical word, which has no 'reality [128].' Another of his letters to the counteſs, appears to have been an anſwer to one from her, in which ſhe had informed him, that one of the maids of honour in the queen's court, who was ſaid to have a dropſy, had been diſcovered by her to be with child. In reference to this incident, Frederick ſays, 'In truth, my 'good mamma, you are very expert, and I con- 'gratulate you upon your ſkill in dropſies. The 'event which has happened is a very common 'one; and there are no courts, nor even con- 'vents, in which ſuch things do not happen.

[127] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederic Roi de Pruſſe, avec U. F. de Suhm, &c. tom. II. p. 140, 141. Monthly Review, vol. LXXVI. p. 580.

[128] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, ut ſupra, p. 141.

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'For myſelf, who am apt to be very indulgent 'to the weakneſſes of our ſpecies, I am not in- 'clined to ſtone maids of honour who produce 'children. They contribute to perpetuate the 'human ſpecies, which ferocious politicians are 'employed in deſtroying, by their ſanguinary 'wars. I confeſs to you, that I like better thoſe 'females whoſe diſpoſitions are too tender and 'ſuſceptible, than thoſe dragons of chaſtity, who 'are for giving no quarter to offenders of their 'own ſex.—Let this child be well brought up, 'that no family may be diſgraced, and let the 'poor offending female be removed from the 'court with as much delicacy as poſſible, and 'in that manner which may be the leaſt injurious 'to her reputation[129].' In another letter he ſays to the counteſs, 'I wiſh you, my good 'mamma, all the proſperity of which theſe cala- 'mitous times are ſuſceptible; and eſpecially 'that you may preſerve your good humour, the 'greateſt, and the moſt real treaſure, that fortune 'can give us[130].'

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, died George II. king of Great Britain, and was ſucceeded by his preſent majeſty, king George III. in whoſe firſt ſpeech to the parliament was the following paſſage: 'I rely upon your zeal and

[129] Correſpondance familliere et amicale, ut ſupra, p. 142.

[130] Ibid. p. 146.

CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1730.

'hearty concurrence to ſupport the king of 'Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to make 'ample proviſion for carrying on the war, as the 'only means to bring our enemies to equitable 'terms of accommodation.' On the twelfth of December following, the fifth treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which it was agreed, that a fourth ſum of 670,000l. ſhould be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty, in the ſame manner as had been ſtipulated by the preceding treaties [H].

[H] It appears from the accounts of the ſupplies voted by the Britiſh parliament, for the year 1761, that the following ſums were alſo granted that year, in ſupport of the German war:

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, for one year — —	463,874	0	0
For defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 foot, troops of Heſſe-Caſſel, for one year — —	268,360	0	0
For defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horſe, and 8808 foot, troops of Heſſe-Caſſel, for one year —	147,071	0	0
For defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry, and 2208 infantry, troops of the duke of Brunſwick, for one year, and a ſubſidy for that time — —	57,798	0	0
For defraying the charges of five battalions, ſerving in Germany, for one year —	25,504	0	0

For

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Soon after the battle of Torgau, general Laudohn raiſed the ſiege of Koſel, and retreated to Upper Sileſia; the Ruſſians alſo abandoned the ſiege of Colberg in Eaſtern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, being defeated by the Pruſſians in Weſtern Pomerania, were again compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Stralſund[131]. As to the king of Pruſſia, having found it impracticable to regain poſſeſſion of Dreſden, he put his troops into winter-quarters, in Leipſic, Meiſſen, and the neighbouring towns and villages. He reſided himſelf chiefly at Leipſic; and it is ſaid, that in the midſt of 'preparations for a new campaign, 'againſt 280,000 enemies, he yet found ſufficient 'leiſure for peaceable occupations; and conſe-'crated ſome hours every day to reading, to 'muſic, and to the converſation of men of 'letters[132].'

AMONG other literary men with whom the king converſed, during this winter, one was M. GELLERT, then profeſſor of belles lettres at Leipſic. The king ſent M. Guiſcard, then a

For defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, &c. of the army under the command of prince Ferdinand — — — £. 1,000,000 s. 0 d. 0

Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 153, 154.

[131] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 392.

[132] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 141.

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major in his army, and to whom he had given the name of Quintus Icilius, to bring the profeſſor to him. They had a long converſation together; and Frederick aſked him, among other things, what was the reaſon, that there were no good German writers? Quintus obſerved, that his majeſty had then before his eyes an excellent German writer, whoſe productions even the French had judged worthy of a tranſlation, and whom they called the Fontaine of Germany. The king replied, that this was a ſtrong proof of M. Gellert's merit; but he afterwards aſked, what the reaſon was, that there were not in Germany a great number of ſuch good authors as he was? Gellert then remarked, that his majeſty ſeemed to be prejudiced againſt the Germans. 'By no 'means,' ſaid the king. 'Againſt the German 'writers, at leaſt,' replied the profeſſor. 'That 'may be,' ſaid the king; 'and the truth is, I 'have not a very high opinion of them.' Gellert remarked, that ſeveral cauſes had contributed to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent as writers. 'While the arts and ſciences flou-'riſhed among the Greeks,' ſaid he, 'the Ro-'mans were ſolely occupied in the pernicious 'art of war. May we not look upon this as the 'military age of Germany? May I not add to 'this, that the Germans have not had the advan-'tage of ſuch patrons of learning as Auguſtus 'and Lewis XIV.' Frederick obſerved, that there

there had been two Auguſtus's in Saxony. Gellert replied, that there had been good beginnings in that country; but he afterwards added, 'If 'your majeſty would be ſo generous as to give 'peace to Germany.'—'How can I do that?' ſaid Frederick, interrupting him: 'Have you 'not heard, that I have three crowned heads 'againſt me?' 'My chief knowledge, ſire,' replies the profeſſor, 'lies in antient hiſtory: I 'have ſtudied much leſs that of modern times.' The king then turned the converſation to Homer and Virgil, and ſeemed himſelf inclined to give the preference to the latter. Some diſcourſe afterwards paſſed concerning Gellert's own works; and the day after, in talking of the profeſſor at table, Frederick ſaid, that 'of all the 'learned Germans, Gellert was the moſt rational 'and judicious.'

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DURING the courſe of this year, the allied army, under the command of prince Ferdinand f Brunſwick, acted chiefly on the defenſive; but, on the thirty-firſt of July, an action took place between the allied army and that of France, at Warburg in Weſtphalia, in which prince Ferdinand obtained the victory. The loſs of the French, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than three thouſand; and the Britiſh troops greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this action. In conſequence of this victory, prince

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prince Ferdinand was enabled to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into Hanover; but they took poſſeſſion of the whole landgraviate of Heſſe, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannick majeſty.

CHAP.

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Frederick takes poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp in Upper Silesia.—Sends a body of troops into Poland, who deſtroy the magazines of the Ruſſians.—General Laudohn takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main.—The Ruſſians make themſelves maſters of Colberg.—Death of the empreſs of Ruſſia.—The king of Pruſſia again makes himſelf maſter of Schweidnitz.—The combined army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, in Saxony, defeated by prince Henry of Pruſſia at Freyberg.—Incurſions made by the Pruſſian troops into Bohemia and Franconia, and heavy contributions levied on the inhabitants.—Peace of Hubertſbourg.

CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1761.

THOUGH the king of Pruſſia, during the long and ſanguinary war in which he was engaged, had exhibited the higheſt degree of courage and of military ſkill, had obtained the moſt ſplendid victories, and made exertions ſo extraordinary, that they ſeemed almoſt miraculous, he yet found, that the longer the war continued, the more his difficulties were encreaſed. His army did not conſiſt of the ſame troops, as thoſe with which he had commenced the war; he had loſt vaſt numbers of his men not only in action, but by diſeaſes, by the rigour of the ſeaſons, and by perpetual hardſhips and fatigues; and

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and he had alſo loſt many of his beſt and ableſt generals [1]. He had likewiſe loſt great numbers

[1] It has been ſaid, 'that the king of Pruſſia's loſſes were 'not to be reckoned by the men killed and priſoners, but by 'armies deſtroyed or taken. Forty generals had died, or 'were ſlain in his ſervice, ſince the firſt of October, 1756, 'excluſive of thoſe who had been wounded, diſabled, or made 'priſoners.' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 11. Frederick himſelf ſays, 'Pruſſia computed, that ſhe had been deprived 'by the war of an hundred and eighty thouſand men. Her 'armies had fought ſixteen pitched battles. The enemy had 'beſides almoſt totally deſtroyed three large corps; that of 'the convoy of Olmutz, that of Maxen, and that of Fouquet 'at Landſhut; excluſive of the garriſon of Breſlaw, two gar'riſons of Schweidnitz, one of Torgau, and one of Witten'berg, which were taken with theſe towns. It was farther 'eſtimated, that twenty thouſand perſons had periſhed in the 'kingdom of Pruſſia by the ravages of the Ruſſians; ſix 'thouſand in Pomerania; four thouſand in the New Marche; 'and three thouſand in the electorate of Brandenburgh.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 414, 415. In another place Frederick ſays, 'Seven campaigns, during 'which ſeventeen pitched battles had been fought, and almoſt 'as many inferior actions not leſs bloody, three ſieges under'taken by the army, and five ſuſtained, without reckoning 'attacks made on the winter-quarters of the enemy, and other 'military expeditions of a ſimilar kind, had ſo far ruined the 'army, that a great part of the beſt officers, and of the vete'ran ſoldiers, had periſhed in the field. To form ſome eſti'mate of this, we need only recollect, that the gaining of 'the battle of Prague alone had coſt twenty thouſand men. 'Let us add to this calculation, that we had forty thouſand 'Auſtrian priſoners; and that Auſtria had nearly as many of 'the Pruſſians, among whom muſt be numbered more than 'three

bers of his men by deſertion; for ſuch was the rigour of the Pruſſian diſcipline, ſuch the hardſhips that his men endured, and many were enliſted by methods ſo oppreſſive and unjuſt [K], that great numbers were always ready to deſert, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Saxony had alſo been ſo impoveriſhed and exhauſted, that he could not draw from it the ſupplies that he did at firſt; nor could his own dominions furniſh him either with the money that he wanted, or with a ſufficient number of recruits. His enemies, though they alſo had ſuffered greatly during the war, were not weakened in proportion; becauſe they had more natural, and more conſiderable reſources, with reſpect both to men and money. Theſe difficulties, therefore, induced Frederick, during the courſe of the year 1761, to act chiefly on the defenſive.

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'three hundred officers; that the hoſpitals were full of the 'wounded; and that in the regiments of foot there were 'ſeldom more than an hundred men found, who had ſerved 'at the commencement of the war. Above fifteen hundred 'officers had alſo fallen in the different actions, by which the 'number of nobility had been extremely diminiſhed.' Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 161, 162.

[K] Baron Bielfeld, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian troops in the year 1740, long before the Saxons had been dragged into the Pruſſian ſervice, ſays, 'Almoſt all our levies have been raiſed 'either by force or artifice.' Letters, vol. IV. p. 26.

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As during the laſt campaign, the Auſtrians had made themſelves maſters of Glatz, the king was extremely ſolicitous to prevent their making a progreſs in Sileſia. Early, therefore, in the year 1761, he took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia, not far from Schweidnitz; having left his troops in Saxony, which were ſtrongly encamped near Leipſic, under the command of prince Henry. The Ruſſian army was this year divided into two bodies; one of which, commanded by general Tottleben, directed its march towards Pomerania; and the other, under general Butterlin, entered into Upper Sileſia, and advanced towards Breſlaw. General Laudohn, at the head of an Auſtrian army, entered that province at the part oppoſite to them; and they propoſed to unite their armies, in order to attack the king of Pruſſia, or to take Breſlaw, or Schweidnitz, in his preſence. The Ruſſians ſpread themſelves over all the open country of Sileſia, and exacted heavy contributions; and a body of them appeared before Breſlaw, on the firſt of Auguſt, and began to cannonade the city, from ſeven batteries. In the mean time, general Laudohn exerted the whole of his ſkill to draw the king from his poſt, and to engage him in a diſadvantageous action. He ſometimes advanced, as if he meant to join the Ruſſians; and ſometimes his motions intimated a deſign to attack Schweidnitz. Theſe attempts failing, he turned off,

off, and made a feint, as if he intended to fall upon Lower Silesia, in hopes that he might at least oblige the Prussian monarch to detach and divide his forces. But Frederick continued immoveable in his post [133]. CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1761.

WHILE these movements were making in Silesia, the Russians had again besiged Colberg in Pomerania. A strong fleet, consisting of forty sail, blockaded it by sea, whilst a body of Russian troops, under general Romanzow, formed the siege by land. The king of Prussia was extremely desirous to prevent the Russians from taking Colberg; and, therefore, resolved to send general Platen, with a considerable detachment, to its relief. But he intended, at the same time, to employ that general in another service. He ordered him to direct his march through Poland, and to destroy the Russian magazines, which had been amassed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Silesia drew its chief subsistence. General Platen accordingly destroyed three of the principal Russian magazines. He also attacked a great convoy of their waggons, destroyed five hundred, and burnt the greatest part of the provisions that they contained; and most of the four thousand men, who guarded this convoy, were either killed or taken prisoners. General Platen then proceeded

[133] Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 32, 33.

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on his march to Pomerania. The Ruſſians in Sileſia had juſt formed a junction with the Auſtrians; but the deſtruction of their magazines, and the conſequent ſcarcity of proviſions, induced them to ſeparate again from their Auſtrian allies, to drop their deſigns upon Breſlaw, to repaſs the Oder, and to retire into Poland.

WHEN the Ruſſians under general Butterlin retired out of Sileſia, the king of Pruſſia, who alſo found a want of proviſions in his camp near Schweidnitz, in order to be the more eaſily ſupplied, now approached nearer to the Oder. On making this movement, he alſo ventured to draft four thouſand men from the garriſon of Schweidnitz. He thought, that the preparations neceſſary to a ſiege, would give him ſufficient notice, and ſufficient time, to provide for the ſafety of that important place, from which he had removed only to a ſmall diſtance. But general Laudohn, who, through the whole campaign, had watched the motions of the king, with the moſt diligent and penetrating aſſiduity, and had hitherto found no part open and unguarded, now reſolved to attempt SCHWEIDNITZ, by a coup de main. On the firſt of October, at three in the morning, the aſſault began. An attack was made, at the ſame time, on all the four outworks, which the troops, ordered on this important enterprize, approached with ſo much precaution, that they were not perceived by the Pruſſian garriſon.

riſon. They ſcaled all the four at the ſame time, and the troops which defended them had ſcarcely time to fire a few cannon ſhot [134]. On the ſide of the Auſtrians, not a gun was diſcharged; but in one of thoſe outworks a powder-magazine was blown up, by which many of the Auſtrians were killed. This magazine is ſaid to have been blown up on purpoſe by a Pruſſian ſoldier belonging to the artillery, who, when he ſaw the Auſtrians mount the ramparts, exclaimed, 'They 'ſhall not enter into the town:' and immediately ſet fire to the magazine, by which he blew up himſelf, and three hundred Auſtrians [135]. The beſiegers, however, carried the outworks, and immediately prepared to aſſault the body of the place, which they entered by burſting open the gates; and at day-break they found themſelves maſters of the town. Lieutenant-general Zaſtrow, governor of the fortreſs, with about three thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. The Auſtrians found here a great number of cannon, and a large quantity of proviſions; and their loſs, in this bold and fortunate undertaking, did not much exceed ſix hundred men.

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THIS was a very unexpected blow to the king of Pruſſia. In anſwer to a letter concerning it from general Zaſtrow, who ſtated that the garri-

[134] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 34, 35.

[135] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 146.

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ſon had made a vigorous defence, Frederick wrote back, 'You write to me, as Francis I. 'wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, '*We have loſt every thing, except our honour.* 'Nevertheleſs, I cannot comprehend what has 'happened, and I ſuſpend my judgment. The 'affair is very extraordinary [136].' The fact appears to have been, that Schweidnitz was a place not ſo eaſy to be defended [L] againſt a ſudden

[136] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 147.

[L] General Lloyd ſays, that the town of SCHWEIDNITZ 'lies in a fine plain, about three miles diſtant from the mountains which ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia. It is rich and 'populous. Originally, when it firſt came into the power of 'the Pruſſians, during the preceding war, it was ſurrounded 'only by an old wall, with round towers, in the Gothic manner; but his majeſty, conſidering the advantageous ſituation 'of it, as well to facilitate any projects he might hereafter 'form again Bohemia, as to cover Sileſia, reſolved to fortify 'it. Accordingly, on the concluſion of that war, he ordered 'ſeveral redoubts, called ſtar redoubts, becauſe they reſemble 'a ſtar, to be built about it. Theſe were joined by a curtain; 'and, in the intervals, between the redoubts, were placed 'ſome ſmall lunettes, or half moons; the whole covered by a 'ditch, with a covered way palliſaded. Of all the ſpecies of 'works, uſed in fortification, the ſtarry redoubt is the worſt; 'becauſe, by the nature of its conſtruction, it can have no 'flank: and the re-entering angles take up ſo much of the 'ground within, that they cannot contain the number of men 'and artillery ſufficient to defend them; and are, moreover, 'expoſed to be enfiladed from one end to the other; ſo that 'it is impoſſible they ſhould make any conſiderable defence, 'when properly attacked.' Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 111, 112.

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and powerful attack, as it was apprehended to be by the king of Pruſſia, who is ſaid to have been leſs ſkilful in fortification, than in any other branch of military ſcience. And after he had drafted four thouſand men from the garriſon, a ſufficient number ſeem not to have been left for manning the works. General Zaſtrow, who appears to have been a brave and an able officer, repeatedly and earneſtly ſolicited, to have his conduct examined by a court-martial; but this the king refuſed, though he cauſed the general to be impriſoned, and deprived him even of the command of his regiment. In the courſe of his campaigns ſeveral other inſtances occurred, in which Frederick caſhiered and diſhonoured reſpectable officers, without doing them the juſtice of permitting a court-martial to inveſtigate their conduct [M].

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EARLY

[M] An intelligent and well informed writer ſays, 'The 'governor of Schweidnitz was ſent priſoner to Spandau, for 'having yielded to general Laudohn, although he had de- 'fended the place with great gallantry, and with a handful 'of men, comparatively ſpeaking, his garriſon not having 'been ſufficient to line the ramparts. The governor of Glatz 'was treated in a ſtill more ungenerous manner on a ſimilar 'occaſion. The king ordered him to be arreſted, and con- 'veyed in a common waggon, eſcorted by two huſſars, beyond 'the outpoſts of his army, forbidding him, at the ſame time, 'on pain of death, ever to ſet foot again in his dominions. 'This officer, who was a native of Piedmont, had been ori- 'ginally a private ſoldier in the guards; and, after forty

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EARLY in the courſe of the preſent year, the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, agreed ſeverally and jointly to offer propoſals towards renewing that negociation for peace, which had been broken off at the beginning of the year 1760. Declarations were accordingly made by thoſe courts, and delivered to the court of London; counter-declarations of a pacific nature were afterwards made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia; and Augſburgh, as the ſituation moſt commodious for the powers at war, was appointed for the congreſs [137]. A ſeparate negociation was alſo afterwards ſet on foot, in order to ſettle the particular points in diſpute between the courts of Great Britain and France; and ſome propoſals were made tending to a ſeparate peace between thoſe courts. But none of theſe overtures towards peace were productive of

'years ſervice, had riſen by his merit to the rank of major-'general. His education, and the manner in which he had 'ſpent the greateſt part of his life, had probably not furniſhed 'him with enough of that ſort of knowledge, which is re-'quiſite to make a good general; but he was certainly a brave 'and worthy officer, and the king treated him with too much 'ſeverity.'—'His Pruſſian majeſty, though a great man in ſo 'many other reſpects, is but a very indifferent engineer. 'There are hardly any of his ſtrong places capable of with-'ſtanding a regular attack, made by troops that are experi-'enced in this branch of the military art.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 42, 43.

[137] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 3, 4.

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any immediate effect; and the propoſed congreſs at Augſburgh never was aſſembled.

IN conſequence of having made themſelves maſters of Schweidnitz, the Auſtrians obtained ſuch a footing in Sileſia, that they obliged the king of Pruſſia to retreat towards Breſlaw [N], and ſecured winter-quarters for themſelves in that province. General Platen alſo found it impracticable to afford to Colberg the aſſiſtance that was intended; he was attacked by a ſuperior body of the Ruſſians, and obliged to retire to Stettin, having previouſly loſt part of his convoy; and, after a ſiege of ſix months, Colberg ſurrendered to the Ruſſians, on the ſixteenth of Decem-

[N] Frederick's foreſight had led him to fortify an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw; and from this time, he ſays, he 'found himſelf rigorouſly reſtrained to 'be on the defenſive; but it was neceſſary that this ſhould 'not be known to Laudohn, as this would have given him an 'advantage over the Pruſſians. The better to diſguiſe his 'intentions, the king iſſued orders to the army to prepare for 'battle; to re-load the muſquets, and ſharpen their ſword-'blades; and that ſufficient ammunition ſhould be diſtributed 'to the artillery. Great preparations and great projects were 'talked of; and the known Auſtrian ſpies, who were in the 'army, ſet off immediately to carry the intelligence to Lau-'dohn. It may, perhaps, appear incredible to poſterity, that 'this army of Auſtrians and Ruſſians, encamped on the hills 'of Kunzendorf, three days march from the Pruſſians, paſſed 'eight nights under arms, in momentary expectation of an 'attack.' Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 239, 240.

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ber, the governor, colonel Heyde, and the garriſon, by whom the place had been very gallantly defended, being made priſoners of war [138]. But previouſly to this event, a treaty had been concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the Ottoman porte; and Frederick was not without hopes of being able to engage the Turks ſo much in his favour, as to find ſuch employment for the Ruſſians, as might prevent them from making any farther inroads into his dominions.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year, the baron Wargotſch, a Sileſian nobleman, who came often to the Pruſſian camp, where he was well received by Frederick and his officers, is ſaid to have formed a ſcheme to deliver the king into the hands of the Auſtrians. He informed himſelf, with great exactneſs, of every thing that paſſed in the camp; and acquainted the Auſtrians, that the king rode out every day to reconnoitre, attended only by three or four perſons on horſeback; and he appointed with the Auſtrian general a day, and an hour, for carrying him off. The baron had choſen, for his aſſociate in this ſcheme, the curate of the village in which the king reſided. The curate uſed to carry the letters to the Auſtrian poſts. The affair was diſcovered by means of one of the baron's own ſervants, who, from circumſtances, or what he had

[138] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 143, 144. Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 36.

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over-heard, between his maſter and the curate, had collected ſome knowledge of the deſign. One day, juſt as the king was getting on horſe-back, this ſervant of the baron came and threw himſelf at his majeſty's feet, preſenting him at the ſame time with a letter, which his maſter had ordered him to deliver to the curate. 'Sire,' ſaid he, 'I believe this letter concerns your 'majeſty.' Frederick opened the letter, and perceiving in it clear indications of the conſpiracy, he immediately ſent to reconnoitre if there was really an ambuſcade at the place mentioned; and the moment he was convinced of the fact, he diſpatched an officer, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, with orders to arreſt the baron, who, under pretence of buſineſs, was gone to ſleep at one of his ſeats, two miles from the king's quarters. The officer, who knew nothing of the king's motives for iſſuing this order, delivered it with much politeneſs to the baron, who received it with great ſeeming tranquility and good humour, and deſired the officer to breakfaſt with him. Wargotſch acted his part with ſo much dexterity and eaſe, that the officer permitted him to retire for a few minutes into another apartment. From that apartment, he made his eſcape out of a window; and, having immediately mounted a horſe, he had got to a conſiderable diſtance, before the officer ſuſpected his eſcape. It was then impoſſible to overtake him.

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When the king was informed, on the officer's return, of his ill ſucceſs, he only ſaid to him, with great coolneſs, 'Get back to your regiment; you are a very aukward fellow; and 'I ſhall certainly never again employ you in 'ſuch a commiſſion [139].'

ON the ninth of October, 1761, Mr. WILLIAM PITT, ſecretary of ſtate to the king of Great Britain, reſigned his employment. By that event, which had been produced by court cabals, one of the moſt illuſtrious miniſters of ſtate that ever exiſted, was removed from his office, in order to make way for a man, as prime-miniſter, who was the perſonal favourite of the king, but who had never exhibited the leaſt trace of political ability. The war continued to be carried on for ſome time, after the removal of Mr. PITT from power; and ſome of the plans, which had been previouſly formed by that great ſtateſman, were ſucceſsfully proſecuted. The ſubſidy, however, which had hitherto been paid by Great Britain to the king of Pruſſia, was now withheld; and a ſeparate peace with France was afterwards concluded at Paris; but it was extremely inadequate to the very brilliant ſucceſſes that had been obtained on the part of Great Britain; and, in the negociation

[139] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 151, 152, 153. Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, &c. p. 15, 16, 17.

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of it, no proper regard was paid, either to the honour, or to the intereſt of the nation.

CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1762.

AN event took place early in the year 1762, which was highly favourable to the affairs of the king of Pruſſia. This was the death of Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, who was ſucceeded by her nephew, Peter III. The late empreſs had an inveterate perſonal diſlike to the king of Pruſſia, who by her death was delivered from one of his moſt formidable enemies; for her ſucceſſor entertained very different ſentiments reſpecting the Pruſſian monarch [o]. He even profeſſed the higheſt admiration for the great qualities of Frederick, and expreſſed at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt deſire that a general peace might immediately take place. He cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the Imperial, French, and

[o] The new emperor, ſome years before his acceſſion, as duke of Holſtein, had accepted of the Pruſſian order of the black eagle. In alluſion to this circumſtance, and to the large Ruſſian army which was employed againſt the king of Pruſſia at the time of Peter's acceſſion, Frederick introduced the following paſſage, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, then the Britiſh miniſter at the Ruſſian court: 'Is not this (meaning the emperor) a very extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the garter did the ſame, your England (England though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him, that it is againſt the inſtitutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand maſter.' Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 13.

Swediſh

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Swediſh miniſters, reſident at Peterſburgh, on the twenty-third of February, 1762, in which he declared, that 'in order to the eſtabliſhment of 'peace, he was ready to ſacrifice all the con-'queſts made by the arms of Ruſſia in this war, 'in hopes that the allied courts would, on their 'parts, equally prefer the reſtoration of peace 'and tranquility, to the advantages which they 'might expect from the continuance of the war; 'but which they could not obtain, but by a 'continuance of the effuſion of human blood[140].' On the ſixteenth of March following, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was concluded between the emperor of Ruſſia and the king of Pruſſia; on the fifth of May, they entered into a treaty of peace and alliance; and Colberg, and the other places which had been taken by the Ruſſians, were reſtored to the Pruſſian monarch. The new czar alſo agreed to join his troops to thoſe of Frederick, in order to act againſt thoſe powers who had been in alliance with Ruſſia, but who were enemies to the king of Pruſſia. He even wore the Pruſſian uniform, which gave great offence to his ſubjects. He likewiſe exaſperated the Ruſſian ſoldiers, by ſpeaking of them with contempt; and made enemies of the Ruſſian clergy, by ſeizing great part of their revenues, and iſſuing an order, that they ſhould no longer be diſtinguiſhed by wearing their beards. Some

[140] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 13.

of his troops were directed to proceed for Poland, to act under the orders of the king of Pruſſia [P]; but before they could afford him any effectual aſſiſtance, a revolution took place in Ruſſia. A conſpiracy was formed againſt Peter III. by his wife; he was depoſed, ſhe was raiſed to the throne, and the death of her huſband almoſt immediately followed. She was ſtiled Catharine II. and ſoon after her acceſſion to the ſovereignty, ſhe declared to the Pruſſian miniſter at the court of Peterſburgh, 'That ſhe was re-'ſolved to obſerve inviolably, in all points, the 'perpetual peace concluded under the preceding 'reign [Q]; but that ſhe had thought proper, 'never-

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[P] Some of the Ruſſian troops joined the Pruſſian army, and were exerciſed by the king. It is ſaid, that theſe new allies were very well treated. They were not ſuffered to want brandy; and the Coſſacks called the Pruſſians comrades, and crowded round the king, in order to take a view of him. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 155.

[Q] It is ſaid, that on the acceſſion of the new empreſs, it was intended to renew the war with the king of Pruſſia, who had correſponded with the late emperor, and was ſuſpected to have given him advice unfavourable to the empreſs. One of Peter's ſchemes was, to put the empreſs into a monaſtery; and this project, as well as others, he had communicated to the king of Pruſſia. The very next day after the czar's death, ſome of the Ruſſian ſenators examined, in the preſence, as we are informed, of the empreſs, the letters which he had received from the king of Pruſſia. But they were found to contain advice of a very different nature from what had been expected. In theſe letters the king adviſed the emperor, to ſtay

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'neverthelefs, to order back to Ruſſia, by the 'neareſt roads, all her troops in Sileſia, Pruſſia, 'and Pomerania [141].'

Soon after peace was concluded between the late emperor of Ruſſia and the Pruſſian monarch, a peace was alſo concluded between the king and the Swedes. But on the very next day after orders arrived at the Pruſſian camp, for the Ruſſians to ſeparate themſelves from the Pruſſian army, and to return into their own country, Frederick attacked the Auſtrian army under marechal Daun. As he could no longer derive any advantage from the arms of the Ruſſians, he endeavoured at leaſt to profit by their appearance in his camp; and accordingly attacked the Auſtrians before they could receive any news of the recall of the Ruſſian troops. The right wing of the Auſtrian

ſtay in Ruſſia, and not to come into Germany; to look upon his ſubjects as his children, and to give them no juſt cauſe of complaint; to make no alterations in the fundamental laws of the country; to maintain the church, religion, and clergy of the empire, in the ſame ſtate in which he found them; and to treat the empreſs with moderation, and live with her as his wife. On the peruſal of theſe letters, the empreſs, we are told, burſt into tears of gratitude; and declared, that ſhe muſt either be a monſter, or bear to the king of Pruſſia as much affection, as ſhe had hatred to him before. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 345, 346. Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 22. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 160.

[141] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 438.

army

army occupied the heights of Buckerſdorff in Sileſia; and Frederick drove them from that eminence, and from ſome neighbouring villages, in which they were advantageouſly poſted. He killed and wounded about a thouſand of the Auſtrians, and took one thouſand priſoners, together with fourteen pieces of cannon. This ſucceſs was not owing only to the ſpirit of the king's attack, but alſo to an apprehenſion of the Auſtrians, that the whole united army of the Pruſſians and Muſcovites was on the point of engaging them: ſo that Frederick made ſome uſe of his new allies, even in the very moment in which they were deſerting him [142]. This affair was, indeed, only an attack of poſts; but its conſequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialiſts with Schweidnitz was thereby entirely cut off. Frederick immediately prepared to beſiege that important place, and the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of July. But a very obſtinate defence was made by the Auſtrians; and Schweidnitz did not ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia till the ninth of October. The Auſtrians had two thouſand men killed in the ſiege; and the Pruſſians loſt upwards of three thouſand [143]. The remainder of the garriſon, which conſiſted of about eight thouſand men, were made priſoners of war; and a

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[142] Annual Regiſter, ubi ſupra, p. 23. [143] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 397.

great

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great part of theſe were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their paſſage to Konigſberg, which was deſtined for the place of their confinement.

WHILE the king of Pruſſia was thus ſucceſsful againſt the Auſtrians in Sileſia, his brother, who commanded in Saxony, was chiefly employed in acting on the defenſive. This, however, was not agreeable to his own inclinations: for prince Henry, who had great courage, and great military talents, was extremely deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. But the greateſt part of the army in Saxony, under his command, conſiſted of garriſon regiments, and free battalions, which were conſidered as the worſt troops in the Pruſſian ſervice. He had, however, contrived, from the beginning of the campaign, by the judicious choice of his poſts, to keep the Auſtrian general, the prince of Stolberg, at bay, though the latter was greatly ſuperior to him in the number of his troops. The king aſſured his brother, from time to time, that the moment it would be proper for him to act offenſively, he would ſend him a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops. But Henry was piqued at being obliged to act ſo long on the defenſive; and at length manœuvred with ſo much ſkill, that the Auſtrian general ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into a ſituation, which the prince thought to be a very advantageous one for him, if a battle ſhould take place.

place. Of this the prince acquainted the king, and requeſted an immediate reinforcement. The meſſenger returned, in twenty hours, with intelligence, that Frederick was advancing in perſon to his aſſiſtance, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops[144]. But prince Henry was unwilling to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy, and was probably deſirous of gaining a victory before the arrival of his brother; who, he knew, would carry off moſt of the honour, if he arrived in time. Without waiting, therefore, for the promiſed ſuccours, he attacked the united army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, near FREYBERG, on the twenty-ninth of October. The action commenced at day-break, and laſted till two in the afternoon, when the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts were totally defeated. Four thouſand priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians, together with thirty pieces of cannon; and the Auſtrians were obliged to abandon the town of Freyberg[145]. The king himſelf arrived the day after the battle.

SOON after this action, a ſtrong detachment of Pruſſian troops, under the command of general Kleiſt, made an irruption into Bohemia, where they raiſed contributions almoſt to the very gates

[144] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, p. 62, 63.

[145] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 398.

of

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of Prague, and deſtroyed ſeveral Auſtrian magazines, particularly at Saatz, which were valued at nine hundred thouſand florins [146]. About this time the king of Pruſſia artfully propoſed to the court of Vienna, a ſuſpenſion of arms between their reſpective armies in Saxony and Sileſia, during the winter. The propoſal was readily acceded to on the part of the empreſs-queen; after which the Auſtrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters, where they expected to enjoy ſome repoſe. But it ſoon appeared, that this impolitic and partial truce was extremely pernicious to the Auſtrian cauſe: for it had not provided for the ſecurity either of the immediate dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, or of thoſe members of the empire which were the moſt attached to its intereſts. Accordingly when the Auſtrian and Imperial troops had entered their winter-quarters, a large body of Pruſſian troops was aſſembled, under the command of general Kleiſt, who marched directly into Franconia, where they began immediately to raiſe heavy contributions, and compelled great numbers of men to enter into the Pruſſian ſervice. In the mean time, the Imperial and Auſtrian generals could neither aſſemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, till they had received freſh orders from Vienna. The Pruſſian

[146] Entick, ubi ſupra, p. 399.

troops,

troops, therefore, ſpread themſelves, without oppoſition, over almoſt the whole circle of Franconia, where they raiſed great ſums of money. From the free city of Nuremberg alone they demanded three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off ſome of the magiſtrates as hoſtages for the reſt. Even the city of Ratiſbon itſelf began to apprehend a viſit; and, therefore, applied to baron Plotho, the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect. The baron frankly told the magiſtrates, that if they refuſed to pay the contribution, which his maſter's troops ſhould demand, when they came to pay them a viſit, they muſt expect to be compelled by force. But, ſoon after the Pruſſians had entered Franconia, a declaration was made by the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet to the following purport: 'That as 'all his maſter's declarations to the ſtates of the 'empire had produced no effect, he was now 'reſolved to employ more effectual means to 'make them recall their troops from the Auſtrian 'army; and was accordingly marching three 'different corps into the empire; one of which 'had already entered Franconia, the ſecond was 'taking the route of Swabia, and the third 'would paſs through Bavaria: that they would 'every where conduct themſelves according to 'the exigencies of war; but, as to the diet of the

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'empire, he had orders to give aſſurances, that 'it ſhould not be in the leaſt diſturbed[147].'

ABOUT this time a body of Pruſſian troops had laid the greater part of the city of Egra, in Bohemia, in aſhes, by a ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets; and in the ſeveral predatory expeditions of the Pruſſian troops at this period, they are ſuppoſed to have levied a ſum equivalent to a million ſterling. Many of the princes and ſtates of Germany, therefore, found themſelves obliged to ſign a neutrality, in order to ſave their territories from farther ravages[148]; ſo that, in a ſhort time, all the troops, which compoſed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their reſpective ſovereigns[149].

ON the third of November, 1762, preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Fontainbleau between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain [R]; and as the court of Vienna was now deſerted

[147] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 400.

[148] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 439.

[149] Entick, ut ſupra, p. 401.

[R] The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, was concluded at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763. It gave great offence to a large part of the Engliſh nation, who juſtly conſidered it as extremely inadequate to the very brilliant ſucceſſes that had been obtained by the arms of Great Britain. Count Algarotti, who, as a foreigner, may be regarded as an impartial judge, has taken ſome pains to ſhew, that the terms were much leſs advantageous to the Britiſh nation than they ought to have been. After ſtating

deſerted by Ruſſia, and by the army of the empire, and the court of France was ſolicitous for the eſtabliſhment of peace, the empreſs-queen was induced, though reluctantly, to enter into a negociation with the king of Pruſſia. M. Hertzberg acted as Frederick's miniſter on this occaſion; and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between the empreſs-queen and the king of Pruſſia, at the caſtle of Hubertſbourg, near Dreſden, on the fifteenth of February, 1763. A treaty of peace was alſo concluded between the Pruſſian monarch and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and that unfortunate prince was again reſtored to his electoral dominions [s]. But no indemnification was made to him for the uſurpation of his dominions, or for the numerous

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ſtating ſuch terms as he thinks ought to have been inſiſted on, he ſays, 'If that noble ſtructure, the Temple of Peace, had 'been raiſed on ſuch foundations as theſe, the Engliſh might 'have ſpoken in a loftier tone at Verſailles, and could not 'have been ſaid to have made war like lions, and peace like 'lambs. At any rate it were to have been wiſhed, for the 'proſperity of England, that he who had ſo nobly conducted 'the war, ſhould alſo have been the perſon to adjuſt the 'peace.' Letters military and political, p. 163.

[s] The king of Poland arrived at his palace at Dreſden, accompanied by his prime miniſter, count Bruhl, on the thirtieth of April, 1763; but he did not long ſurvive his reſtoration to his dominions; for he died on the fifth of October following. He was ſucceeded, as elector of Saxony, by his eldeſt ſon, prince Frederick, who alſo died before the expiration of the year.

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depredations, and acts of violence, injuſtice, and cruelty, that had been committed upon his ſubjects.

By the treaty of HUBERTSBOURG, it was agreed, that there ſhould be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between the apoſtolic empreſs-queen on the one part, and the king of Pruſſia on the other, their heirs and ſucceſſors; that every thing that had paſſed, on either ſide, during the war, was to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion; that both parties ſhould renounce all claims on each others dominions or territories; in particular, that the empreſs-queen ſhould renounce all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the king of Pruſſia, by the preliminary articles of Breſlaw, and the treaty of Berlin; that all hoſtilities were entirely to ceaſe on both ſides, from the day of ſigning the treaty; that the empreſs-queen was to withdraw her troops from all the countries and ſtates of Germany, which were not under her dominion, within the ſpace of twenty-one days, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; and within the ſame term ſhe was to cauſe to be evacuated, and reſtored to the king of Pruſſia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the ſtates, countries, towns, places, and fortreſſes, which his Pruſſian majeſty poſſeſſed before the war. The fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel, and Gueldres, were to be re-

ſtored to him in the ſame ſtate, with regard to the fortifications, in which they were, and with the artillery that was found in them, when they were taken. In the ſame ſpace of time, the king of Pruſſia was to reſtore all the places that he had taken, in Saxony, or elſewhere. It was alſo agreed, that all priſoners of war, of whatever rank, were to be immediately reſtored without ranſom, on payment of the debts contracted during their captivity; and the ſubjects of either party, forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, were to be diſcharged. The empreſs-queen was to return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places reſtored to the king of Pruſſia; and he was to confirm the nominations made by the empreſs-queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres. The two powers likewiſe mutually guarantied the whole of each other's dominions, thoſe belonging to the empreſs-queen out of Germany excepted [150]. The king of Pruſſia at the ſame time agreed, by a ſecret article, to give his ſuffrage for electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans [151]; and accordingly that event took place the year following.

[150] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 247, 248, 249. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 401, 402, 403.

[151] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 176. Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 25, 26.

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THUS ended, what is called in Germany, THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, between the king of Pruſſia, and the great and powerful princes, with whom he had engaged in hoſtilities. It was one of the moſt ſanguinary wars by which the world has been deſolated; and in which the ſtand that Frederick made againſt ſuch numerous armies, and ſuch a confederacy of potent princes, was a juſt ſubject of univerſal aſtoniſhment. But the military fame that he thereby acquired, was but a trifling compenſation to his ſubjects, for the evils and calamities that they had ſuffered, and for the great effuſion of human blood which had been produced, by his ambition, and by that jealouſy, which his numerous ſtanding army, and his conduct towards his neighbours, had naturally inſpired.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Frederick returns to Berlin, after an abſence of more than ſix years.—Donations to his ſubjects, who had ſuffered during the war.—Viſits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia.—Rebuilds the towns and villages deſtroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.—Receives an ambaſſador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks.—His correſpondence with M. D'Alembert.—Releaſe of baron Trenck from his confinement at Magdeburg.

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PEACE being now completely eſtabliſhed, by the treaty of Hubertſbourg, Frederick returned once more to his capital, from which he had been abſent more than ſix years. He arrived at his palace at Berlin, about nine in the evening, on the thirtieth of March, 1763. He was received by the princes of the blood, foreign miniſters, and principal nobility, who were aſſembled on the occaſion. Rejoicings and illuminations were continued in the city for ſeveral days after his arrival; and, on the fourth of April, at eight o'clock at night, he went through moſt of the ſtreets of Berlin, in an open chariot, accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, in order to view the illuminations, and the de-

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vices that were invented to celebrate his victories. On this occaſion, as well as at his arrival, he was every where ſaluted with loud and general acclamations, of 'Long live our king and 'father!' To theſe acclamations he replied, 'Long live my dear ſubjects, my beloved chil-'dren [152].'

SOON after his arrival at Berlin, the king made ſome magnificent preſents to the queen and royal family. He alſo made ſundry liberal donations for the relief of the poor, in thoſe parts of his dominions which had ſuffered, during the war, by the inroads of the enemy. To many of his diſbanded ſoldiers, he diſtributed lands; and he gave them the horſes of his artillery, to aſſiſt them in the cultivation of the lands that he had given them [153].

ON the twentieth of May, the king ſet out on a journey to viſit his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia; and in part of his journey he was accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, with whom, on the fourth of June, he took a view of the ground on which the battle of Minden had been fought. He arrived at Weſel two days after, where he examined the fortifications and the citadel. He then proceeded to Crevelt, and from thence to Cleves; and, on the ſeventeenth of the month,

[152] Annual Regiſter, vol. VI. p. 73. [153] Ibid. vol. V. p. 63.

he

he arrived at Hanover, where he was waited upon by the two princes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. From Hanover he proceeded to Brunſwick, and ſoon after returned to Berlin. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

HAVING afterwards viſited the other parts of his dominions, Frederick applied himſelf to the reſtoration of his deſolated provinces, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his finances, and to the encouragement of agriculture. He began to rebuild the towns and villages that had been deſtroyed during the war; and he gave conſiderable ſums to many of his nobility, in order to enable them to pay their debts, and to cultivate their waſte lands; and of this he himſelf gave them an example in the royal demeſnes, by cutting down woods, draining marſhes, and making various improvements. He alſo eſtabliſhed new manufactures, gave directions for making navigable canals, and by ſundry methods endeavoured to extend the commerce of his ſubjects. But notwithſtanding the regard which he paid at this period to the arts of peace, his army ſtill continued to be a prime object of his attention. He ſo completely recruited his regiments, that, after the peace of Hubertſbourg, his army amounted to two hundred thouſand men; and this formidable force he continued conſtantly to maintain[154].

[154] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 21, 22.

IN

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IN the courſe of this year, Frederick concluded a treaty of alliance with the empreſs of Ruſſia; and, on the ninth of November, Achmet Effendi, ambaſſador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks, to the king of Pruſſia, made his public entry into Berlin. He was attended by a troop of Janiſſaries, and a numerous retinue; and brought a number of fine horſes, and other preſents, for the king. One deſign of his embaſſy was, to compliment the Pruſſian monarch, upon the glorious peace that he had lately concluded at Hubertſbourg [155]. When Frederick received the Turkiſh ambaſſador [T], he was dreſſed with unuſual magnificence. It was ſaid, that the diamond buttons on his cloaths, and the hat which he wore on this occaſion, were valued at more than five hundred thouſand pounds. This

[155] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 177, 178.

[T] Achmet Effendi attended a meeting of the academy of ſciences at Berlin, on which occaſion M. Formey, the perpetual ſecretary, made a ſpeech, of which, it is ſaid, the Turk underſtood nothing. At the ſame time, a new-invented machine was exhibited to the academy. As the members preſſed round the table, on which the machine was placed, the ambaſſador found himſelf too much crowded. He, therefore, puſhed aſide thoſe who ſtood next him, and jumped upon the table, on which he ſeated himſelf in the oriental manner, that he might examine the machine more at his eaſe. M. Formey had much difficulty to preſerve his gravity; and the members of the academy left off examining the machine, and fixed their attention wholly upon the ambaſſador. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 285.

ſerms

ſeems to have been the laſt time of his appearing with ſuch ſplendour: for, in general, after his ſeven years war, he was more frugal with reſpect to cloaths, than he had been in the former part of his life. From that period, except on this occaſion, he confined himſelf, on great public days, to a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with ſilver, and which was never worn but at ſuch times of court magnificence.

IN the year 1763, M. D'ALEMBERT ſpent ſome weeks at Berlin and Potſdam [156]. He had for ſome time correſponded with the king of Pruſſia, who had a great eſteem for him, and was extremely deſirous of drawing him to his court. But D'Alembert was much attached to Paris, and could not be prevailed with to take up his reſidence in the Pruſſian dominions. After the death of Maupertuis, Frederick often conſulted D'Alembert about the choice of proper perſons to fill up vacancies in the royal academy at Berlin; and paid great regard to his recommendations. Upwards of two hundred letters, which paſſed between Frederick and D'Alembert, have been publiſhed in the king's correſpondence. In one of D'Alembert's letters, he deſired to know the king's opinion, relative to the war between Great Britain and the American colonies. Frederick replied, 'You wiſh to know,

[156] La Pruſſe Litteraire ſous Frederic II. par l'Abbe Denina, tome I. p. 195.

'what

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'what I think of the conduct of the Engliſh. I think with the public, that they have ſinned againſt good faith, by not keeping the compact which they had made with their colonies; and, by an ill-timed declaration of war, againſt one of the American ſtates, from which nothing but evil could reſult. The Engliſh were ſtupidly ignorant of the ſtrength of the colonies; and imagined they might be ſubjected by general Gage, with five or ſix thouſand men. They have hired troops without having provided tranſports to convey them to America; and they have bought proviſions in the London markets for an army which was to fight in Pennſylvania. In ſhort, there are no kind of blunders with which they may not be reproached. Why ſeparate the corps which Carleton commanded, and that of which Burgoyne is the head, by a diſtance of three hundred miles? How could theſe corps, at ſo great a diſtance, afford each other mutual aſſiſtance? In a ſituation like this, was it neceſſary, in pure gaiety of heart, to quarrel with the Ruſſians; to offend the Dutch by their inſolent arrogance; and, by their ill conduct, to increaſe the number of their enemies [157]?' In a letter of D'Alembert to the king, written afterwards, is the following paſſage on the ſame ſub-

[157] Poſthumous Works, vol. XII. p. 99.

ject: 'Well may your majeſty ſay, the Engliſh 'parliament is not very philoſophic, and that 'its conduct is that of a legion of lunatics. We 'wait with impatience for the intereſting news 'of the cloſe of the campaign, which, fortu- 'nately for the enemies of England, and unfor- 'tunately for humanity, will probably not be the 'laſt. The meeting of the parliament is the 'moment on which much depends. We ſhall 'ſee, whether England will conſent to ruin her- 'ſelf, that ſhe may completely lay waſte and de- 'populate her colonies[158].' In another letter Frederick ſays, 'The Engliſh nation, ſaid to be 'ſo profound, has had ſuperficial miniſters, who 'have ſtripped it of its ſuperfluous wealth, which 'it turned to abuſe, and occaſioned it to loſe 'poſſeſſions which were but its burthen. They 'have bravely laboured for its abaſement, in- 'tending, no doubt, to temper the exceſs to 'which it carried its haughtineſs, and the diſ- 'dain in which it had held the reſt of Europe. 'An hundred years hence, he, among our con- 'temporaries, who ſhould riſe from the dead, 'would no longer know our continent[159].'

ON the twenty-fourth of December, 1763, baron TRENCK, who had been impriſoned at Magdeburg for more than nine years, and with ſuch circumſtances of unfeeling cruelty, as will ever reflect extreme diſhonour on the king of

[158] Ibid. p. 113.

[159] Ibid. p. 330, 331.

Pruſſia,

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Pruſſia, was releaſed from his confinement. This gentleman, who was a native of Koniſberg, in Pruſſia, and deſcended from one of the moſt antient and reſpectable families in that country, had received a commiſſion in the Pruſſian horſe guards, when he was only eighteen years of age, and was treated by the king with great favour and diſtinction [U]. He had been educated at the

[U] Baron TRENCK was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſberg at the age of thirteen, and made a rapid progreſs in literature. But he had ſtrong paſſions, and had fought three duels when he was about ſixteen. Duelling at that time was very common in that univerſity. In his account of his own life, he informs us, that, at that time, 'the univerſity of 'Konigſberg was ſtill highly privileged. To ſend a challenge 'was held honourable; and this was not only permitted, but 'would have been difficult to prevent, conſidering the great 'number of proud, hot-headed, and turbulent young nobility 'from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, 'who came thither to ſtudy, and of whom there were more 'than five hundred. This brought the univerſity into diſre-'pute, and the abuſe has been endeavoured to be remedied.'

In 1742, baron Lottum, who was related to Trenck's mother, and who happened then to be at Konigſberg, perſuaded him to enter into the army, telling him, that he would 'find 'much better opportunities of ſending challenges, in the 'army, than in the univerſity.' He very readily complied with the propoſal, and ſet out for Potſdam a few days after. 'On the morrow after my arrival,' ſays the baron, 'I was 'preſented to the king, as, indeed, I had before been, in the 'year 1740, with the character of being, then, one of the 'moſt hopeful youths of the univerſity. My reception was 'moſt flattering. The juſtneſs of my replies to the queſtions

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the univerſity of Konigſberg, where he gave early evidences of genius, and of courage; but

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'he put, my height, figure, and confidence pleaſed him; and 'I ſoon obtained permiſſion to enter as a cadet in his body 'guards, with a promiſe of quick preferment.'—'I had 'ſcarcely been ſix weeks a cadet, before the king took me 'aſide, one day, after the parade, and, having examined me 'near half an hour, on various ſubjects, commanded me to 'come and ſpeak to him on the morrow.

'His intention was, to find whether the accounts, that had 'been given him of my memory, had not been exaggerated; 'and, that he might be convinced, he firſt gave me the names 'of fifty ſoldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. 'He next repeated the ſubjects of two letters, which I im- 'mediately compoſed in French and Latin: the one I wrote, 'the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace, with 'promptitude, a landſcape from nature, which I executed 'with equal ſucceſs; and he then gave me a cornet's commiſ- 'ſion in his body guards.

'Each mark of bounty, from the monarch, increaſed an 'ardour already great, inſpired me with gratitude, and the 'firſt of my wiſhes was, to devote my whole life to the ſervice 'of my king and country. He ſpoke to me, as a ſovereign 'ſhould ſpeak, like a father, like one who knew well how to 'eſtimate the gifts beſtowed on me by nature; and perceiving, 'or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, be- 'came at once my inſtructor, and my friend. Thus did I 'remain a cadet only ſix weeks, and few Pruſſians can vaunt, 'under the reign of Frederick, of equal good fortune. The 'king not only preſented me with a commiſſion, but equipped 'me ſplendidly for the ſervice. Thus did I ſuddenly find 'myſelf a courtier, and an officer in the fineſt, braveſt, and 'beſt taught corps in Europe.' Life of Baron Frederick Trenck, tranſlated from the German by Mr. Holcroft, vol. I. p. 12—21.

his

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his paſſions were ſomewhat impetuous, and he was extremely high ſpirited. He found the ſervice in which he was employed, in the king's body guard, attended with much fatigue [x]; but

[x] Of Frederick's horſe guards, and the fatigues that they underwent even in time of peace, baron Trenck gives the following account: 'The body guards formed, at this time, a 'model and ſchool for the Pruſſian cavalry: it conſiſted of one 'ſingle ſquadron of men, ſelected from the whole army, whoſe 'uniform was the moſt ſplendid in all Europe. Two thou-'ſand rix-dollars were neceſſary to equip an officer: the cuiraſs 'was wholly plated with ſilver; and the horſe furniture and 'accoutrements alone coſt four hundred rix-dollars. This 'ſquadron only conſiſted of ſix officers, and a hundred and 'forty-four men; but there were always fifty or ſixty ſuper-'numeraries, and as many horſes; for the king incorporated 'all the moſt handſome men he found in theſe guards. The 'officers were the beſt taught of any the army contained. 'The king himſelf formed them; and afterwards ſent them 'to inſtruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. 'Their riſe was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were 'broken for the leaſt fault, and puniſhed by being ſent to 'garriſon regiments. It was, likewiſe, neceſſary that they 'ſhould be tolerably rich, as well as poſſeſs ſuch talents, as 'might be ſucceſsfully employed, both at court, and in the 'army.

'There are no ſoldiers in the world, who undergo ſo much 'as this body guard: for, during the time I was in the ſer-'vice of Frederick, I often had not eight hours ſleep in eight 'days. Exerciſe began at four in the morning; and experi-'ments were made of all the alterations, which the king 'meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of three, 'four, five, ſix feet, and ſtill wider, were leaped, till ſome 'one broke his neck; hedges, in like manner, were ſteed-

'and

but he ſtill continued the purſuits of learning, and was introduced to the king's literary friends [y]. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

WHEN

' and the horſe ran careers, meeting each other full ſpeed, in ' a kind of liſts of more than half a league in length. We ' had often, in theſe our exerciſes, ſeveral men and horſes ' killed or wounded.

' It happened, more frequently than otherwiſe, that the ' ſame experiments were repeated after dinner with freſh ' horſes; and it was not uncommon, at Potſdam, to hear the ' alarm ſounded twice in the night. The horſes ſtood in the ' king's ſtables; and whoever had not dreſſed, armed himſelf, ' ſaddled his horſe, mounted, and appeared before the palace ' in eight minutes, was put under arreſt for fourteen days. ' Scarcely were the eyes cloſed, before the trumpet again ' ſounded, to accuſtom youth to vigilance. I loſt, in one year, ' three horſes, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ' ditches, or died of fatigue. I cannot give a ſtronger pic- ' ture of this ſervice, than by ſaying, that the body guard ' loſt more men and horſes in one year's peace, than, during ' the following year, they did in two battles.

' We had, at this time, three ſtations. Our ſervice, during ' winter, was at Berlin; where we attended the opera, and all ' public feſtivals. In the ſpring, we were exerciſed at Char- ' lottenburgh; and at Potſdam, or wherever the king went, ' during the ſummer. The ſix officers of the guard dined ' with the king; and, on gala days, with the queen. It may ' be preſumed, that there was not, at that time, on earth, a ' better ſchool to form an officer, and a man of the world, ' than was the court of Berlin.' Life, tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, ut ſupra, p. 15—19.

[y] ' Frederick,' ſays the baron, ' commanded me to viſit ' the literati, whom he had invited to his court. MAUPERTUIS, JORDAN, LA METTRIE, and POLLNITZ, were all ' my

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WHEN the princeſs Ulrica married the prince-royal of Sweden, baron Trenck eſcorted her as far as Stettin; and on this occaſion an amour commenced between him and the princeſs Amelia, another ſiſter of the king [z]. From this lady

my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happineſs was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches in height; and Nature had endowed me with every requiſite to pleaſe. I lived, as I vainly imagined, without exciting enmity or malice; and my mind was wholly occupied by the deſire of acquiring well founded fame.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 22.

[z] The baron ſpeaking of this princeſs, though without mentioning her name, ſays, 'To her converſation, to her prudence, to the power by which ſhe rivetted my affections wholly to herſelf, am I indebted for the improvement and poliſhing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never deſpiſed, betrayed, or abandoned me, even in the deepeſt of my diſtreſs.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 25. He afterwards ſays, 'I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly eſteemed. The king teſtified his approbation at every opportunity; my miſtreſs ſupplied me with more money than I could expend; and I was, preſently, the beſt equipped, and made the greateſt figure, of any officer in the whole corps. The ſtyle in which I lived was remarked; for I had only received from my father's heritage the eſtate of Great Scarlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year; which was far from ſufficient to ſupply my then expences. My amour, in the mean time, remained a ſecret from my beſt and moſt intimate friends. Twice was my abſence from Potſdam and Charlottenburg diſcovered, and I was put under arreſt; but the king ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſes

lady he often received conſiderable preſents, which enabled him to live with more ſplendour than his own fortune would have permitted. He attended the king, with the reſt of the guards, into Sileſia and Bohemia, in the campaigns of 1744 and 1745; was made adjutant to the king, and was preſent in the battles of Hohen Friedberg and Sohr, in the former of which he was wounded. But it happened unfortunately for baron Trenck, that he was firſt couſin to another baron Trenck, who was a famous partiſan in the Auſtrian ſervice; and this relationſhip proved to him a ſource of great calamity. The Auſtrian Trenck, who had no children, and was very wealthy, had written to the mother of the Pruſſian Trenck, that he intended to make her ſon his heir. The Auſtrian Trenck alſo ſent back two horſes belonging to his Pruſſian couſin, which had been taken by the huſſars under his command. Theſe circumſtances excited in the king ſome ſuſpicion of baron Trenck's fidelity; and theſe ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by an officer of the guards, who had a perſonal animoſity againſt the baron, and did all he could to injure him. At length, when the Pruſſian troops were in Bohemia, a letter came to the baron,

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' excuſes I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and ' ſmiled as he granted my pardon. Never did the days of ' youth glide away, with more apparent ſucceſs, and pleaſure, ' than during theſe my firſt years at Berlin.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

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written as from his Auſtrian couſin, and containing ſome overtures to him to enter into the Auſtrian ſervice. This letter he ſuppoſes to have been forged; but he communicated it very frankly to his brother officers; and, as he wrote no anſwer to it, expected from it no ill conſequences. Such uſe, however, was made of it, in order to incenſe the king againſt him, that he was arreſted, deprived of his commiſſion, and impriſoned in the fortreſs of Glatz. He wrote to the king, ſoliciting to be tried by a court martial, and declaring, that he deſired no favour, if any crime could be proved againſt him: but no anſwer was returned. The princeſs Amelia continued to correſpond with him, and expreſſed her confidence in his innocence. She alſo condemned the precipitate anger, and unjuſt ſuſpicions, of the king her brother, and ſent the baron a thouſand ducats. After peace was concluded, finding that his impriſonment was ſtill continued, he grew impatient of his confinement [A], and made ſeveral deſperate [B], but unſuc-

[A] He learned afterwards, that, till his attempts to eſcape, the king had condemned him only to a year's impriſonment; but it was given out at Glatz, that he was to be impriſoned for life.

[B] Of one of theſe unſucceſsful, but deſperate attempts, which was made eight days after a former of the ſame nature, he has given himſelf the following account: 'Major Dow 'came to viſit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, 'and

unſucceſsful efforts to eſcape. He at length, however, found means to effectuate his eſcape,

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'and an adjutant. After examining every corner of my 'chamber, he addreſſed me, taxing me with a ſecond crime 'in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this muſt, 'certainly, increaſe the anger of the king. My blood boiled 'at the word crime. He talked of patience. I aſked, how 'long the king had condemned me to impriſonment? He 'anſwered, a traitor to his country, who has correſponded 'with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time; 'but muſt depend, for grace and pardon, upon the king. At 'that inſtant, I ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, on which 'my eyes had ſome time been fixed, ſprang out of the door, 'threw the centinel from the top to the bottom of the ſtairs, 'paſſed the guard who happened to be drawn up before the 'priſon door to relieve guard, attacked them ſword in hand, 'threw them ſuddenly into ſurprize by the manner in which 'I laid about me, wounded four men, made way through the 'reſt, ſprang over the breaſt-work of the ramparts, and, with 'my ſword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this aſto-'niſhing height, without receiving the leaſt injury. I leaped 'the ſecond wall, with equal ſafety and good fortune. None 'of their arms were loaded: no one durſt leap after me; 'and, in order to purſue, they muſt go round through the 'town and the gate of the citadel; ſo that I had the ſtart full 'half an hour. A ſentinel, however, in a narrow paſſage, 'endeavoured to oppoſe my flight; but I parried his fixed 'bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A ſecond ſentinel, 'meantime, came from the outworks, to ſeize me behind, 'and I, to avoid him, made a ſpring at the paliſadoes: there 'I was, unluckily, caught by the foot, and received a bayonet 'wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, they beat me 'with the butt-end of their muſquets, and dragged me back 'to priſon, while I ſtruggled and defended myſelf like a man 'grown deſperate.' Life, p. 90—99.

when

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when he had been confined at Glatz ſeventeen months, being aſſiſted and accompanied by an officer, who was diſcontented with his ſituation. They encountered great dangers, and great hardſhips; and baron Trenck afterwards entered into the Ruſſian ſervice, in which he became a captain of dragoons. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, being at Dantzick, a ſcheme was formed by the Pruſſian reſident in that city, and ſome Pruſſian officers in the recruiting ſervice, to ſeize him, and convey him forcibly into the Pruſſian territories. But he having received intimation of the plot, found means completely to defeat it, and treated ſome of the officers concerned in it with ſuch indignity, that this affair greatly increaſed the animoſity of the king of Pruſſia againſt him. Trenck was afterwards advantageouſly introduced at the court of Peterſburgh, by the friendſhip of general Bernes, miniſter to that court from the court of Vienna, and lord Hyndford, miniſter from the court of Great Britain, both of whom were perſonally acquainted with the baron, when he was in high favour at Berlin. He had ſundry intrigues at Peterſburgh; and, among others, with the counteſs Beſtucheff, wife to the prime-miniſter [c].

[c] The baron ſeems not to have improved his morals, or his principles, by his converſations with La Mettrie, Pollnitz, and others of Frederick's favourites at Berlin; but though he was licentious with regard to women, he appears, in other reſpects, to have had an high ſenſe of integrity and honour.

THE

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THE king of Pruſſia ſuſpected, that Trenck's influence at Peterſburgh was employed to his diſadvantage; and ſome diſhonourable arts were employed by the Pruſſian miniſter to ruin him at that court. Theſe arts were not ſucceſsful; but he afterwards quitted Ruſſia, and entered into the Auſtrian ſervice. In 1754, when he was a captain of Auſtrian cavalry, he happened to be at Dantzick, where the king of Pruſſia's agents, authorized by two of the magiſtrates of Dantzick, who were attended by twenty grenadiers, ſeized him in bed, and conveyed him to the city priſon, from whence he was ſoon after ſent to Berlin [D]. He was afterwards removed to the citadel of Magdeburg, where he was confined in a dungeon [E], and allowed nothing but a pound

[D] It appears, that a ſhort time before this, intimations had been given at Berlin, by ſome of Trenck's enemies, that he had formed dangerous deſigns againſt the king's own perſon.

[E] He gives the following deſcription of his firſt dungeon: 'My dungeon was in a caſemate, the fore part of which, ſix 'feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. 'In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance 'of the caſemate itſelf. The window, in the ſeven feet thick 'wall, was ſo ſituated that, though I had light, I could ſee 'neither heaven nor earth: I could only ſee the roof of the 'magazine. Within and without this window were iron 'bars; and, in the ſpace between, an iron grating, ſo cloſe, 'and ſo ſituated, by the riſing of the walls, that it was im-'poſſible I ſhould ſee any perſon within the priſon, or that 'any perſon ſhould ſee me. On the out-ſide was a wooden

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pound and a half of ammunition bread per day, and a jug of water [F]. He was not at this time put in irons; but having made ſome extraordinary efforts to eſcape, and theſe efforts being diſcovered, the king, when he came to a review at Magdeburg, went and viſited a fort there called the Star-fort, where he commanded a new cell to be made for the confinement of

paliſadoe, ſix feet from the wall, by which the ſentinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a matraſs, and a bedſtead, but which was immoveably ironed to the floor; ſo that it was impoſſible I ſhould drag it, and ſtand up to the window.' Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 1, 2.

[F] At this period of his confinement, he ſuffered more from hunger, than from any other cauſe. 'From my youth,' ſays he, 'I had always a good appetite;—and it is impoſſible that I ſhould deſcribe the exceſs of tortures that, during eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could every day have eaſily devoured ſix pounds of bread; and every twenty-four hours, after having received and ſwallowed my ſmall portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet muſt wait another twenty-four hours for a new morſel. How willingly would I have ſigned a bill of exchange for a thouſand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have ſatiated my hunger on dry bread.'—'Some have ſuppoſed, that to eat little might become habitual; but I have experienced the contrary. My hunger increaſed every day; and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of eleven months, was the moſt bitter.'—'Daily, about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept, by the governor: the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture.' Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 3—6.

Trenck,

Trenck, 'preſcribing himſelf,' as the baron ſays, 'the kind of irons by which he was to be 'ſecured [160].' CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

Of his ſecond dungeon, to which he was removed as ſoon as it was ready, he has given the following deſcription: 'In breadth it was about 'eight feet; in length ten.'—'In a corner was 'a ſeat, four bricks broad, on which I might ſit, 'and recline againſt the wall. Oppoſite the 'ring to which I was faſtened, the light was admitted through a ſemicircular aperture, one 'foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture aſcended to the centre of the wall, which 'was ſix feet thick, and at this central part was 'a cloſe iron grating, from which, outward, the 'aperture deſcended, and its two extremities 'were again ſecured by ſtrong iron bars. 'My 'dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which the light 'entered, was ſo covered by the wall of the 'rampart, that, inſtead of finding immediate 'paſſage, the light only gained admiſſion by reflexion. This, conſidering the ſmallneſs of 'the aperture, and the impediments of grating 'and iron bars, muſt needs make the obſcurity 'great, yet my eyes, in time, became ſo accuſtomed to this glimmering, that I could ſee a 'mouſe run. In winter, however, when the

[160] Life, tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, vol. II. p. 27.

'ſun

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

ſun did not ſhine into the ditch, it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glaſs window, with a ſmall central caſement, which might be opened to admit air.—The name of TRENCK was inſcribed upon the wall, and under my feet was a tomb-ſtone, with the name of TRENCK alſo cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick: without theſe was an open ſpace, or front cell, in which was a window, and this ſpace was likewiſe ſhut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was incloſed on both ſides by paliſadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was entruſted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all poſſibility of ſpeech, or communication with the ſentinels [161].

He has alſo given the following account of the manner in which he was ironed in this new dungeon. 'Enormous chains were fixed to my ancle at one end, and at the other to a ring which was incorporated in the wall. This ring was three feet from the ground, and only allowed me to move about two or three feet to the right and left. They next rivetted another huge iron ring, of a hand's breadth, round my naked body, to which hung a chain, fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's arm. This

[161] Life, p. 34, 35, 36.

bar

'bar was two feet in length, and at each end of 'it was a handcuff[162].'—'The only motion I 'had the power to make, was that of jumping 'upward, or ſwinging my arms, to procure my- 'ſelf warmth. When more accuſtomed to theſe 'fetters [G], I was likewiſe capable of moving 'from ſide to ſide, but this pained my ſhin- 'bones[163].' CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

SPEAKING of the new dungeon to which he was now removed, and of the time of his firſt entrance into it, he alſo ſays, 'The cell had 'been finiſhed with lime and plaſter but eleven 'days, and every body ſuppoſed it would be 'impoſſible, that I ſhould exiſt in theſe damps 'above a fortnight. I remained ſix months, 'continually immerſed in water, that trickled 'upon me from the thick arches under which I 'was; and I can ſafely affirm, that, for the firſt 'three months, I was never dry; yet did I con-

[162] Life, p. 31, 32.

[G] In the year 1756, an iron collar was added to his other fetters; and he ſays, that 'the chains that deſcended from the 'neck-collar were obliged to be ſupported firſt with one hand, 'and then with the other; for, if thrown behind, they would 'have ſtrangled me, and, if hanging forward, occaſioned moſt 'exceſſive head-achs.' Ibid. p. 109, 110. Among other barbarities which were exerciſed towards him, one was, ordering the ſentinels to call him every quarter of an hour, and thereby to prevent his ſleeping for any long time together. This inhuman practice was continued four years. Ibid. p. 144.

[163] Ibid. p. 36, 37.

'tinue

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

'tinue in health. I was viſited daily at noon, 'after relieving guard, and the doors were then 'obliged to be left open for ſome minutes, 'otherwiſe the dampneſs of the air put out their 'candles.

'THIS was my ſituation, and here I ſat, deſti-'tute of friend, helpleſsly wretched, preyed on 'by all the torture of thought, that continually 'ſuggeſted the moſt gloomy, the moſt dreadful 'of images. My heart was not yet wholly 'turned to ſtone, my fortitude was ſunken to 'deſpondency; my dungeon was the very cave 'of deſpair; yet was my arm reſtrained, yet was 'this exceſs of miſery endured. How then may 'hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of 'man! My fortitude, after ſome time, began to 'revive: I glowed with the deſire of convincing 'the world, that I was capable of ſuffering what 'man had never ſuffered before; perhaps of, at 'laſt, emerging from this load of wretchedneſs, 'triumphant over my enemies [164].'

AFTER his confinement in his new dungeon, the baron was allowed as much bread as he could eat; and notwithſtanding his fetters, he conti-nued to make a variety of aſtoniſhing attempts to effectuate his eſcape [H], and ſome of which

[164] Life, p. 37, 38.

[H] Of theſe different and extraordinary efforts to obtain his liberty, he has given a particular account in the narrative of his life.

were

were nearly ſucceſsful. When it was diſcovered, that he had found means even to diſencumber himſelf of his chains, a large iron collar was put about his neck, and connected with the chains at his feet by additional heavy links [I]. The whole of his fetters amounted to ſixty-eight pounds weight. Though none of his own efforts to obtain his liberty were finally ſucceſsful, they yet greatly contributed to the preſervation both of his health and ſpirits [K]. He did not gain his

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[I] In another part of the narrative of his life, he alſo gives an account of his dreſs. 'My hands being fixed,' ſays he, 'and kept aſunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained 'to the wall, I could neither put on ſhirt nor ſtockings in the 'uſual mode; the ſhirt was therefore tied, and changed once 'a fortnight; the coarſe ammunition ſtockings were buttoned 'on the ſides; a blue garment, of ſoldier's cloth, was like-'wiſe tied round me, and I had a pair of ſlippers for my feet. 'The ſhirt was of the army linen; and when I contemplated 'myſelf in this dreſs of a malefactor, chained thus to the 'wall, in ſuch a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or juſtice, 'my conſcience void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when 'I reflected on my former ſplendour in Berlin and Moſcow, 'and compared it with this ſad, this dreadful reverſe of 'deſtiny, I was ſunk in grief, or rouſed to indignation, that 'might have hurried the greateſt hero, or philoſopher, to 'madneſs or deſpair. I felt what can only be imagined by 'him, who has ſuffered like me, after having, like me, flou-'riſhed, if ſuch can be found.' Ibid. p. 60, 61.

[K] 'Theſe bodily labours,' he ſays, 'theſe continued 'inventions, and projected plans, to obtain my freedom, pre-'ſerved my health. Who would ſuppoſe that a man, fettered 'as I was, could find means of exerciſing himſelf? By 'ſwinging

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his liberty, till more than nine months after the peace of Hubertſbourg, when he obtained his freedom,

'ſwinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, 'and leaping upward, I frequently put myſelf into a ſtrong 'perſpiration. After thus wearying myſelf, I ſlept ſoundly, 'and often thought how many generals, obliged to ſupport 'all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the 'field; how many of thoſe who had plunged me into this 'den of miſery, would have been moſt glad, could they, 'like me, have ſlept with a quiet conſcience.' Life, vol. ii. p. 61, 62.

In another place in the narrative of his life, many parts of which are written with great animation, he ſays, 'I had read 'much; had lived in, and ſeen, much of the world; vacuity 'of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with. The 'former tranſactions of my life, what had happened, and the 'remembrance of the perſons I had known, I revolved ſo 'often in my mind, that they became as familiar and con-'nected, as if the events had each been written in the order 'it occurred. Habit made this mental exerciſe ſo perfect to 'me, that I could compoſe ſpeeches, fables, odes, ſatires, 'all which I repeated aloud, and had ſo ſtored my memory 'with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my free-'dom, to commit to writing two volumes of theſe my priſon 'labours. Accuſtomed to this exerciſe, days, that would 'otherwiſe have been days of miſery, appeared but as a mo-'ment.—For this I am to thank the induſtrious acquirements 'of my youth.—Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may 'be ſhowered by monarchs upon the moſt worthleſs; but 'monarchs can give and take, ſay and unſay, raiſe and pull 'down. Monarchs, however, can neither give wiſdom nor 'virtue. Arbitrary power itſelf, here, and before theſe, is 'foiled. How wiſely has Providence ordained, that the en-'dowments of induſtry, learning, and ſcience, given by our-'ſelves,

freedom, in conſequence of the application of the Auſtrian ambaſſador [L], having then been impriſoned at Magdeburg more than nine years [M]. He was conveyed out of the Pruſſian domi-

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ſelves, cannot be taken from us; while, on the contrary, what others beſtow is a fantaſtical dream, from which any accident may awaken us. The wrath of Frederick could deſtroy legions, and defeat armies; but it could not take from me the ſenſe of honour, of innocence, and their ſweet concomitant, peace of mind; and could not deprive me of fortitude and magnanimity. I defied his power, reſted on the juſtice of my cauſe, found in myſelf expedients wherewith to oppoſe him, was at length crowned with conqueſt, and came forth, to the world, the martyr of ſuffering virtue." Ibid. p. 72, 73, 74.

[L] Several applications were made by the Auſtrian miniſter to the king of Pruſſia, after the peace of Hubertſbourg, to obtain the baron's liberty; but theſe applications were not complied with, and ſeem not to have been made with much earneſtneſs. At laſt, on a gala-day, the king happening to be in an extraordinary good humour, the queen of Pruſſia, the princeſs Amelia, and the prince-royal, now the reigning king, told the Auſtrian miniſter, that this was a fit opportunity to renew his application in behalf of baron Trenck. He accordingly did ſo, and Frederick conſented to his releaſe; upon which the company expreſſed ſo much joy, that it gave the king offence. Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 247, 248.

[M] Though baron Trenck had great vigour of conſtitution, great ſtrength of body, and much intellectual ability, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that ſo long a confinement, attended with ſuch uncommon ſufferings and hardſhips, muſt have had a conſiderable effect upon him. Accordingly he ſays, in his account of his life, (vol. II. p. 248, 249.) 'For ſome weeks after I firſt obtained my freedom, I was generally abſent in mind,

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dominions in a covered waggon [N], in which he was conducted to Prague, without being ſuffered

' mind, and deep in thought. This was a habit I had acquired ' in priſon, and the objects of ſight appeared but as the viſions ' of ſleep. I often ſtopped in the ſtreets, ſtared around me, ' doubted my own exiſtence, and bit my finger, in order to ' convince myſelf that I was really awake and alive.'

When he was afterwards at Vienna, he was for ſome time confined by a fit of illneſs, and ſpeaking of his going abroad, after his recovery, he ſays, ' Walking round the ramparts of ' Vienna, having recovered from my ſickneſs, the vivifying ' ſpring, and the broad expanſe of heaven, inſpired a conſci- ' ouſneſs of preſent freedom, and of pleaſure indeſcribable. ' I heard the morning ſong of the lark. My heart palpitated, ' my pulſe quickened, and the blood trickled through my ' veins with delight: for I felt that I was a man, and I recol- ' lected, that I was not in chains. Happen, ſaid I, what may, ' I fear not futurity, ſo long as my feet, my will, and my ' heart, are free, and, like yonder lark, I can remove from ' land to land. My ſoul poured forth its thankfulneſs for this ' conſciouſneſs of freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, ' and to ſeek ſome corner of the world, where virtue has no- ' thing to fear from the tongues of ſlanderers, the commands ' of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.' Ibid. p. 250, 251.

[N] Though he was not permitted to ſpeak to any perſon in the town of Magdeburg, after his releaſe, he was viſited in the citadel by the officers of the garriſon, and received many congratulations on his obtaining his liberty. ' How ' much room for reflexion,' ſays he, ' did this ſcene afford! ' My intrinſic worth then, and twenty-four hours before, when ' in priſon, was the ſame; yet, how wonderful an alteration ' in the carriage and countenance of thoſe by whom I had ' been ſo ſtrictly guarded! I was treated with friendſhip, ' diſtinc-

fered to ſpeak to any perſon upon the road; and from Prague he immediately proceeded to Vienna [o]. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

I HAVE

'diſtinction, attention, and flattery. And why? Becauſe 'thoſe fetters had dropped off, which I had never juſtly borne. 'Oh World! what art thou? What, indeed, in deſpotic 'ſtates, what is merit, what virtue, where arbitrary power 'diſpoſes of the fate of men?' Life, vol. II. p. 212, 213.

[o] He was much diſſatisfied, and with great reaſon, at the treatment which he received at the court of Vienna. He was even kept for ſome time in confinement in that city, it being given out, that he had threatened the life of the king of Pruſſia; and the court of Vienna was at that time deſirous of being on good terms with the Pruſſian monarch, on account of the election of a king of the Romans, which was then nearly approaching. He was afterwards releaſed, and made a major in the Auſtrian ſervice. But he was prevented from ſucceeding to the greateſt part of the ample fortune which ſhould have deſcended to him from the Auſtrian baron Trenck, who was now dead, of whom he was the neareſt ſurviving relation, and who had alſo left him his heir by will. This was effected on various pretences, in conſequence of which he was involved in many tedious and expenſive law-ſuits. But the principal reaſon appears to have been, his refuſal to embrace the Romiſh religion; and on this account the influence of the Popiſh clergy, and particularly of ſome of the Jeſuits at Vienna, was greatly exerted againſt him. As he was born in the year 1726, he was in his thirty-eighth year when he obtained his liberty. In 1765, he married a lady of good family at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by whom he had eleven children. He reſided ſome years at Aix-la-Chapelle; during part of which time he ſeems chiefly to have ſupported himſelf by his writings; for he had been deprived of his paternal inheritance in Pruſſia, and appears not to have derived much ad-

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'I HAVE dwelt the longer on the caſe of baron Trenck, becauſe the circumſtances of his life are ſingular and curious, and the treatment, which he received from the king of Pruſſia, can with no propriety be omitted in a hiſtory of that monarch's life. It ſhould be remembered, in conſidering the caſe of this gentleman, that the ſufferings which were inflicted upon him were without any trial, either civil or military; and

vantage from his Auſtrian inheritance. His temper was naturally generous; and, when poſſeſſed of money, he parted from it with great readineſs and liberality. He publiſhed a news-paper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a periodical work, intitled, 'The Friend of Men,' together with ſome other performances. The freedom of his writings gave much offence to many of the Popiſh clergy, and alſo to ſome other perſons. In the courſe of his travels, after his releaſe from Magdeburg, he viſited Hungary, and was extremely well received by the Hungarian nobility. With a view of increaſing his income, he ſent large quantities of Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the empire; and in order to eſtabliſh a trade of this kind, he made a journey into England. He was accompanied by a young man, who was brother to his wife, and who ſeems to have acted as his agent. The baron was reſpectfully and hoſpitably entertained by many perſons of rank in England; but he was unfortunate in his commercial connexions in London. He was defrauded of wine to a large amount; and this untoward circumſtance, which was probably rendered more prejudicial to him than it might otherwiſe have been, by the warmth of his temper, and his ignorance of the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms, has led him to throw out ſome unjuſt, and ill-founded reflections, on the Engliſh laws, and Engliſh nation in general.

his

his innocence of any criminal correſpondence with the Auſtrians, appears now to be univerſally believed throughout the Pruſſian dominions, and even at the Pruſſian court [P]. The caſe, indeed, of baron TRENCK may be conſidered as affording a ſtriking proof, that deſpotic power ought never to be intruſted to any man, however ſplendid his abilities. Notwithſtanding Frederick's uncommon ſagacity and penetration, he appears in this affair to have been totally deceived; and, notwithſtanding his pretences to juſtice and humanity, he acted, in this inſtance, like the moſt ſavage and unfeeling tyrant. It is not in the power of language, to cenſure his conduct in this tranſaction with too much ſeverity, or to expreſs too much indignation, at this exhibition of cool, premeditated, unrelenting barbarity.

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[P] Since the acceſſion of the preſent king, Frederick William, baron Trenck has been introduced at the Pruſſian court, and extremely well received. The king himſelf had an interview, and a long converſation with him; and he appeared to be highly reſpected by the Pruſſian court, and nation in general, for the ſignal fortitude with which he had endured his long, unmerited, and extraordinary ſufferings. The Pruſſian monarch afterwards conferred on him an annual penſion of twelve hundred dollars, and gave one of his ſons a commiſſion in the Pruſſian ſervice. The baron has alſo another ſon in the Auſtrian ſervice.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Frederick's letter to Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, on his elevation to the throne of Poland.—He viſits the duchy of Sileſia, and makes ſundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions.—Eſtabliſhes ſeveral beneficial inſtitutions.—Receives a viſit from the emperor at Neiſs, in Sileſia.—Erects a new palace near Potſdam, and a great number of new buildings in that city, and at Berlin.—His prejudice againſt German artiſts.

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1764.

AS Auguſtus, king of Poland, elector of Saxony, died ſoon after his reſtoration to his electoral dominions, count Staniſlaus Poniatowſki was elected king of Poland [q] in his room, in the year 1764. The king of Pruſſia favoured the election of this prince; and, after that event had taken place, he wrote a letter to the new king, which contained the following paſſages:

'YOUR majeſty muſt reflect, that as you enjoy 'a crown by election, and not by deſcent, the

[q] Frederick ſays, that a ſecret agreement had been made, that 'the election ſhould fall upon a Piaſte, and this 'Piaſte was Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, Stolnic of Lithuania, who 'had been long known to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and whoſe 'perſon was agreeable to her.' Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 20, 21.

'world

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1764.

'world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's 'actions, than of thoſe of any other potentate in 'Europe; and it is but reaſonable. The latter 'being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more 'is looked for (though much more is to be 'wiſhed) from him, than what men are endowed 'with in common. But from a man exalted, 'by the voice of his equals, from a ſubject to a 'king, from a man voluntarily elected to reign 'over thoſe by whom he was choſen, every thing 'is expected that can poſſibly deſerve and adorn 'a crown. Gratitude to his people is the firſt 'great duty of ſuch a monarch; for to them 'alone (under Providence) he is indebted that 'he is one. A king, who is ſo by birth, if he 'acts in a manner derogatory to his ſtation, is a 'ſatire only on himſelf; but an elected one, who 'behaves inconſiſtently with his dignity, reflects 'diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects. Your majeſty, 'I am ſure, will pardon this warmth. It is the 'effuſion of the ſincereſt regard. The amiable 'part of the picture is not ſo much a leſſon of 'what you ought to be, as a prophecy of what 'your majeſty will be[165].'

IN the month of Auguſt, this year, Frederick made a journey into Sileſia, accompanied by his brother prince Henry. The deſign of this excurſion appears to have been, to make ſuch obſer-

[165] Annual Regiſter, vol. VII. p. 14.

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1764.

vations relative to the ſtate of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, as would the better enable him to make proper regulations for the government of the province. In the courſe of the year, he alſo made ſome new regulations in his dominions, with reſpect to ſchools, and the police [166].

IN 1765, the king eſtabliſhed an office of inſurance at Berlin; an inſtitution which, he juſtly ſuppoſed, might be very beneficial to his ſubjects. The letters patent for eſtabliſhing this office were to be in force for thirty years; during which time no other inſurance office was to be ſet on foot in any of the Pruſſian dominions [167]. About this time Frederick alſo eſtabliſhed 'the 'Military Academy' at Berlin [R]. He likewiſe

[166] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 77.

[167] Annual Regiſter, vol. VIII. p. 68.

[R] Of this inſtitution the following account has been given: 'The MILITARY ACADEMY is agreeably ſituated 'on the banks of the Sprey, oppoſite to the royal palace. In 'this ſchool, which is under the wiſeſt and beſt regulations, 'fifteen young gentlemen, ſelected from the corps of noble 'cadets, are maintained and educated at the king's expence. 'Their dreſs, which is a plain uniform, conſiſts of a blue coat, 'and yellow waiſtcoat and breeches, with white buttons. To 'every three ſtudents an old, ſenſible, and experienced officer 'is appointed as governor, to be conſtantly near his pupils, 'and preſide over their education. The three pupils ſleep 'together in the ſame chamber, and have a lacquey, in the 'livery of the houſe, for their attendant. The manner in 'which

wiſe founded another inſtitution called 'the 'School of Noble Cadets [s],' and an 'Orphan-'houſe,' CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

'which theſe young gentlemen are educated, is admirably 'calculated to render them uſeful members of ſociety, and to 'inſpire them with notions ſuited to their birth: for they are 'uſually of the beſt families. They are inſtructed in all the 'living languages, and in the different ſciences, by excellent 'maſters or profeſſors, who are generally members of the 'academy of ſciences. Each ſtudent has a monthly allowance 'of nine crowns for pocket-money. Their governors are to 'take care, that this money is not expended improperly. In 'winter, they go in a body twice a week to the French 'comedy; in fine weather, they make excurſions into the 'country; one or two of their governors are always of theſe 'parties. Theſe gentlemen, likewiſe, take it in turn to at-'tend the ſtudents to the riding-houſe, and in their other 'exerciſes. All the governors and ſtudents dine together in 'a large hall; and the management of the houſe is entruſted 'to a privy-counſellor, who acts under the direction of a lieu-'tenant-general. This eſtabliſhment is ſaid to coſt his majeſty 'forty-five thouſand crowns annually. But, beſides the young 'gentlemen who are educated in this manner at the king's 'expence, fifteen others are admitted, whoſe parents pay eight 'hundred crowns per annum for each to the director. Theſe 'live, and are educated, preciſely in the ſame way as thoſe 'who are maintained at the king's expence; and no one can 'be admitted on this footing, without his majeſty's expreſs 'permiſſion.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 43, 44, 45.

[s] 'The SCHOOL OF NOBLE CADETS, though in ſome 'reſpects it may be uſeful, is by no means equal to the mili-'tary academy. The ſchool, which is an old building, built 'in the form of a circus, was originally a theatre for the 'combats of wild beaſts, a barbarous diverſion much in vogue

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

' houſe [T],' at Potſdam. He alſo eſtabliſhed an Eaſt India company at Embden, with liberty to

' in Germany. They have contrived to form apartments in ' it, for the reception of three hundred and fifty cadets, the ' greater part of whom come from the remoter provinces, ' particularly Pomerania, which ſwarms with poor nobility. ' Theſe cadets are fed in a coarſe manner, and clothed like ' common ſoldiers. Their education is altogether military. ' They are taught to read and write, and are likewiſe in- ' ſtructed in mathematics and the languages. A few old in- ' valids are appointed to ſuperintend their education; but as ' theſe governors are ſeldom men of very enlarged ideas, the ' ſtudents cannot profit much by their inſtructions; unleſs it be ' in the manual exerciſe, which they are taught on certain ' days of the week, when they are formed into companies for ' this purpoſe on the parade. The king allows ſix crowns, ' per month, for the maintenance of each cadet. The expence ' of their cloathing is placed to the army account. This corps ' is the nurſery of ſubaltern officers for the Pruſſian armies.' Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra, p. 45, 46.

[T] ' The ORPHAN-HOUSE, at Potſdam, is an admirable ' foundation, and well managed. Six thouſand children are ' nouriſhed, clothed, and ſupported in this aſylum at the king's ' expence. The boys are ſoldiers born, and are diſtributed ' through the ſeveral regiments, as ſoon as they arrive at the ' age that fits them for ſervice. The girls (who, by the bye, ' are allowed too much liberty) are maintained in the houſe ' till they are placed out, or married. Several foundations of ' this kind, though on a ſmaller ſcale, are to be met with in ' other parts of the Pruſſian dominions. The building for ' this purpoſe at Potſdam, is of an immenſe ſize, and extremely ' elegant. The number of children that are admitted into it ' is unlimited; and not only orphans, but the children of ſol- ' diers, or peaſants, who are unable to maintain them, are all ' received

to trade to all parts of the Eaſt Indies. But this company were not ſucceſsful; and ſeveral of Frederick's efforts to eſtabliſh commerce in his dominions, were rendered abortive by injudicious taxes, monopolies, and various reſtrictions. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

ON the fourteenth of July, 1765, Frederick William, prince-royal of Pruſſia, was married to the princeſs Elizabeth Chriſtina Ulrica, of Brunſwick, at Berlin. After the ceremony, which was performed with great pomp, the king and queen, the prince-royal and his conſort, the duke of York, the princes and princeſſes of the blood, the foreign miniſters, nobility, and other perſons of rank, ſupped at four tables, each of two hun-

'received without any trouble, no diſtinction being made between a baſtard, and a legitimate offspring. Indeed, the meaſures taken by his Pruſſian majeſty, to promote the propagation of the ſpecies in his territories, are not a little extraordinary. Pregnancy is rendered reſpectable, however it has been acquired. A big belly ſecures, by law, the licentious daughter from the reproaches of her parents, and a maid-ſervant from the cenſures of her maſter and miſtreſs, who are not ſuffered to turn her away, or to ill treat her, nor even to reprove her for what ſhe has done. When a girl is with child, ſhe applies to a magiſtrate, who fixes the place where ſhe is to lie in; and the inhabitants of the town, or village, pay the expences of her delivery, if ſhe or her family are not in circumſtances to do it. The moment the child is born, it is put out to nurſe at the expence of its parents, if they are capable of maintaining it. If they are not, the pariſh advances the money, and is reimburſed by the king.' Ibid. p. 46, 47.

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CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1767.

dred covers. After ſupper was a ball, which was opened by the prince and new princeſs of Pruſſia, and in which the king and duke of York alſo danced [168]. The following year, in order to encourage the porcelain manufactory [u] in his kingdom, Frederick made preſents of ſuperb ſervices of china, of the manufacture of Berlin, to ſeveral German princes. And in 1767, the princeſs Frederica Sophia Wilhemina of Pruſſia, ſiſter to the prince-royal, was married to the prince of Orange at Berlin. This marriage, which was ſolemnized with great magnificence, was afterwards productive of conſiderable effects reſpecting Holland.

IN 1768, Frederick made a donation of three hundred thouſand crowns to the inhabitants of

[168] Annual Regiſter, vol. VIII. p. 111.

[u] 'The China manufacture at Berlin has made ſuch a 'progreſs towards perfection, that it almoſt equals that of 'Dreſden, both in beauty of painting, and elegance of pat-'tern, and is even ſaid to excel it in the materials of which 'it is compoſed. As this manufacture is carried on for the 'king's account, his majeſty (who underſtands perfectly the 'practical ſcience of ways and means) employs, among others, 'one good expedient to promote the ſale of its productions. 'Every Jew who marries, is obliged to buy directly, at the 'royal warehouſe, a certain quantity of china, proportioned 'to his circumſtances; and this quantity is never ſmaller than 'two hundred crowns, amounting ſometimes to ſix thouſand. 'The purchaſer is allowed to ſell what he has bought, nay, 'even to ſend it to foreign countries without paying duty.' Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra, p. 48, 49.

Sileſia,

Sileſia. This money was diſtributed among thoſe perſons, who, by the conſequences of the late war, or by other unfortunate events, had been reduced to the neceſſity of contracting debts, or mortgaging their eſtates [169]. The ſame year he alſo made ſome new arrangements in his army; and, in particular, increaſed the number of men in all his companies of infantry [170]. In 1769, Frederick again made a journey into Sileſia; and, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt in that year, he received a viſit from the emperor of Germany [X], at Neiſs, in that duchy. They behaved to each other in a very cordial and friendly manner; they ſpent two nights and a day together; and had more than one private interview [Y]. They parted with the ſtrongeſt pro-

[169] Annual Regiſter, vol. XI. p. 76. [170] Ibid. p. 36.

[X] JOSEPH BENEDICT AUGUSTUS, emperor of Germany, was crowned king of the Romans in 1764, and ſucceeded his father as emperor, in 1765.

[Y] Frederick ſays, 'The emperor was deſirous of being 'wholly incognito. He aſſumed the name of count Falken-'ſtein; and the king thought he could not do him greater 'honour, than by complying in all things with his will. 'This young prince affected a frankneſs which ſeemed natural 'to him. His amiable character indicated gaiety, added to 'great vivacity. But, with the deſire of information, he wanted 'the patience neceſſary to gain inſtruction. This did not 'prevent connections of friendſhip and of eſteem from being 'formed between the two monarchs. The king declared to 'the emperor, that he regarded that day as the happieſt of 'his

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profeſſions of mutual regard, eſteem, and confidence. When they dined together, ſome of their

' his life, ſince it would be the epocha of union between two
' houſes that had too long been at enmity with each other,
' and whoſe reciprocal intereſt it was, to afford each other
' aid rather than to deſtroy. The emperor replied, Auſtria
' had no longer any Sileſia; after which he adroitly gave the
' king to underſtand, that, ſo long as his mother lived, he
' dared not flatter himſelf with having ſufficient aſcendancy
' over her mind to execute all that he wiſhed; but he did not
' in the leaſt diſſemble, that, the preſent ſituation of affairs
' in Europe conſidered, neither he nor his mother would ſuffer
' the Ruſſians to remain in poſſeſſion of Moldavia and Walla-
' chia. He propoſed afterwards, that meaſures ſhould be
' taken to preſerve an exact neutrality in Germany, in caſe a
' war ſhould take place between England and France. The
' ſuppoſition then appeared poſſible and probable, becauſe that
' a French ſhip, which had been taken by the Engliſh near
' Newfoundland, had occaſioned ſome warm altercation be-
' tween the two courts. The king, in order to ſhew the de-
' ſire he had to preſerve a good underſtanding between Auſtria
' and Pruſſia, accepted the offers of the emperor; and theſe
' two princes entered into a mutual written engagement to
' maintain the propoſed neutrality, which thus became an act
' as inviolable as a formal treaty, ratified with the ſignature
' of miniſters of ſtate. The emperor promiſed in the name
' of the empreſs, and of himſelf; and the king engaged his
' word of honour, that if war ſhould break out between
' France and England, they would maintain with fidelity the
' peace happily re-eſtabliſhed between Pruſſia and Auſtria;
' and that if any other troubles ſhould ariſe, the cauſes of
' which it might be impoſſible to foreſee, they would obſerve
' the moſt exact neutrality on the one part and the other with
' regard to their reſpective poſſeſſions. This engagement,

' the

their general officers dined with them. Among these was general Laudohn, who had greatly distinguished himself against the king of Prussia, and who was going to place himself at the lower end of the table: but the king called out to him, 'I must beg, general Laudohn, that you 'will do me the favour to come and sit by me: 'I am much better pleased to have you on my 'side, than opposite to me.' CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1768.

AMONG other objects of a pacific nature, to which the king attended, after the restoration of peace, one was, the embellishment of Berlin [z] and

'the secret of which was scrupulously kept, was signed at 'Neiss, to the common satisfaction of the two sovereigns.' Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 40, 41, 42.

[z] Dr. Moore says, that 'BERLIN is certainly one of 'the most beautiful cities in Europe. The streets are built in 'a very regular manner, and of a commodious breadth. In 'the new town they are perfectly straight. Frederick-street 'is reckoned two English miles and a half, or a French league, 'in length. Others, which go off at right angles from that, 'are a mile, or a mile and a half long.'—'There are a few 'very magnificent buildings in this town. The rest are neat 'houses, built of a fine white free-stone, generally one, or at 'most two stories high. Here, as at Potsdam, the finishing 'within does not correspond with the elegance of the outside, 'and the soldiers are quartered on the ground-floor in rooms 'looking to the street. The principal edifices are the king's 'palace, and that of prince Henry. Both of these are very 'magnificent. The arsenal, which is a noble structure, is 'built in the form of a square.'—'The new Roman Catholic 'church is by far the most elegant place of worship in the 'city.

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and Potſdam, and building, in both of thoſe cities, a great number of new edifices. He erected every year, at his own expence, forty houſes in Berlin, and thirty-two at Potſdam[171] [A]. They

'city. The king allows the free exerciſe of every religion 'over all his dominions. He thinks the ſmalleſt controul 'over men's conſciences highly unjuſt.'

'BERLIN, though not a fortified, is certainly a very mili-'tary town. When all the ſoldiers of the garriſon are pre-'ſent, they amount to thirty thouſand. In their general con-'duct they are quiet, and the police of the town is pretty well 'regulated. Yet there are ſome kinds of irregularities which 'prevail in the higheſt degree. Public courtezans are more 'numerous here than in any town in Europe, in proportion 'to the number of inhabitants. They appear openly at the 'windows in the day-time, beckon to paſſengers as they walk 'in the ſtreets, and ply for employment in any way they 'pleaſe, without diſturbance from the magiſtrate.'

'The moſt faſhionable walk in Berlin, is in the middle of 'one of the principal ſtreets. Before the houſes on each ſide 'there is a cauſeway, and between theſe two cauſeways are 'fine gravel walks, planted with lime trees. Tents are pitched 'under theſe, and ice, lemonade, and other refreſhments ſold. 'The bands of muſic belonging to the regiments practiſe here 'in the ſummer. The company generally are in the greateſt 'number in the evening, and often walk till it is very late.' View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 162, 163, 177, 182.

[171] Obſervations, &c. on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 34.

[A] Dr. Burney ſays, that 'the road from Berlin to POTS-'DAM is through a deep running ſand, like the worſt parts 'of Norfolk and Suffolk, where there are no turnpikes, till 'within a few miles of the town; and then it is through a

'wild

They were conſtructed after the king's own plans; and his principal architect attended to receive

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1768.

'wild foreſt of fir-trees, with lakes frequently in ſight. Upon 'a nearer approach, there is a fine opening on the left hand, 'to a very large piece of water, and a beautiful view of the 'town, in which three towers, of the ſame ſize and ſhape, 'only appear; but theſe are elegant. The reſt of the way is 'through a wood, cut into walks and rides, which interſect 'each other, and lead to different towns and villas.

'The examination of the gates of POTSDAM is the moſt 'minute and curious, both in going in, and out, which I 'have ever experienced in my travels. It could not be more 'rigorous at the poſtern of a town beſieged. Name, charac- 'ter, whence, where, when, to whom recommended, buſineſs, 'ſtay, and ſeveral other particulars, were demanded, to which 'the anſwers were all written down. However, a ſtranger, 'upon his entrance into this city, is made ſome amends, by 'the variety and ſplendour of new objects, for the bad road, 'and difficulty of admiſſion, which he has previouſly encoun- 'tered.

'The ſtreets are the moſt regularly beautiful which I ever 'remember to have ſeen. The houſes all ſeem to be built of 'white ſtone, though they are only of brick, ſtuccoed over, 'in imitation of ſtone. A canal, ſupplied by the river Havel, 'runs through the middle of the town, which is ſituated on 'an iſland, called THE WERDER OF POTSDAM, which im- 'plies an iſland in a river. This iſland is four German miles 'in circumference. The approach to POTSDAM is over a 'very wide piece of water, by a ſtone bridge.

'The number of houſes in this city has been very much 'increaſed during the reign of his preſent majeſty, and that 'of his father. At the beginning of this century, there were 'only two hundred houſes; and at preſent there are at leaſt

'two

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1768.

receive his orders on that head, on a certain day in every year. He alſo erected in the ſame manner,

'two thouſand, and ſeventeen thouſand inhabitants, excluſive 'of the military, which amount to about eight thouſand men.

'Four battalions of foot guards, with the ſquadron of life-'guards, and the regiment of the prince of Pruſſia, compoſe 'the conſtant garriſon of POTSDAM. The uniform of the firſt 'battalion of foot-guards is blue, embroidered with ſilver, 'and turned up with red; the waiſtcoats are of pale yellow; 'the hats, which are extremely large, have a very broad 'ſilver lace, in imitation of *point d'eſpagne*, and are cocked in 'the old Kevenhuller faſhion, which, added to huge black 'whiſkers, give the men a moſt formidable appearance. The 'fourth battalion, called the Leſtewitz battalion, is formed of 'the remains of the late king's tall grenadiers.

'The ſquares, public buildings, and houſes of individuals 'in this city, are elegant and noble. The architecture of 'Palladio, in the Venetian ſtate, is here very frequently and 'ſucceſsfully copied. His majeſty's preſent paſſion is for ar-'chitecture, in which he is ſaid to expend 200,000l. ſterling 'a year. POTSDAM is almoſt entirely new built, from his 'own deſigns, beſides his new palace, near Sans-Souci, and 'innumerable houſes and palaces in Berlin, conſtructed ſince 'the laſt war. Whenever a citizen is about building a houſe, 'either in his capital, or at Potſdam, his majeſty furniſhes the 'deſign, and is at the expence of building the front.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 115—119.

In another place the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of POTSDAM, ſays, 'In viſiting the principal ſtreets and ſquares 'of this beautiful city, which is well-built, well-paved, mag-'nificent, and new, I could not help obſerving, that foot 'paſſengers were here, as well as in every other city of 'Europe, except London, expoſed to accidents from being

manner, every year, a certain number of houſes, and often other buildings; at Konigſberg, Breſlaw, and in other towns of his dominions [172]. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

FREDERICK likewiſe erected a new palace at Sans-Souci, near Potſdam. Dr. Burney remarks of this palace, which is generally ſtiled THE NEW

'mixed with horſes and carriages, as well as from the inſolence and brutality of their riders and drivers, for want of a *foot-path*.

'I know not whether it has been remarked by writers of travels, that on the *Via Appia*, and other antient roads in Italy, a place was ſet apart, on each ſide, for the convenience of pedeſtrians; and in viſiting Pompeia, where an entire antique Roman ſtreet has been dug out, I obſerved the ſame thing. A Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, was a reſpectable character; and, perhaps, England is the only country, at preſent, where the common people are ſufficiently reſpected, for their lives and limbs to be thought worth preſerving.

'The preſent rage for architecture, in his Pruſſian majeſty, is carried on with ſuch exceſs, that, in POTSDAM, buildings which have all the external grandeur and elegance of palaces, are made the habitations of common ſoldiers, who rather exiſt than live in them, upon five creutzers, two pence halfpenny, a day. However, this paſſion is hereditary; for the late king of Pruſſia (Frederick William) made it a condition, in beſtowing offices and employments about his court and perſon, that each incumbent ſhould build a houſe, reſerving to himſelf the pleaſure of planning and conſtructing the front.' Ibid. p. 197, 198.

[172] Obſervations, on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 37.

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

PALACE, that it appeared to him to be one of the moſt elegant and perfect, which he had ſeen in Europe. 'It is conſtructed,' ſays he, 'as well 'as moſt of the magnificent buildings in Potſ-'dam, from his majeſty's own deſigns. The 'front is decorated with fluted pilaſters, of the 'Corinthian order, before each of which there 'is a ſtatue. Theſe pillars are of a pale yellow 'colour, and the reſt of the wall in imitation of 'red brick. A cupola appears above the pedi-'ment, upon which are placed, on a high pe-'deſtal, the three graces; and the ſtatues and 'groupes of figures, which embelliſh the attic 'ſtory, and the baluſtrades, are ſcarcely to be 'numbered. The apartments are fitted up with 'the utmoſt magnificence and taſte. There is 'a ſuite of rooms appropriated to almoſt every 'branch of the royal family. Thoſe of the 'king, of his ſiſter princeſs Amelia, and the 'prince of Pruſſia, are the moſt ſplendid. In 'each of theſe apartments, there is a room dedi-'cated to muſic, furniſhed with books, deſks, a 'harpſichord, and other inſtruments. His ma-'jeſty's concert room is ornamented with glaſſes 'of an immenſe ſize, and with ſculpture, partly 'gilt, and partly of the moſt beautiful green 'varniſh, by Martin of Paris. The whole fur-'niture, and ornaments of this room, are in a 'moſt refined and exquiſite taſte. There is a 'piano forte, made by Silbermann of Neuberg, 'beauti-

'beautifully varniſhed and embelliſhed; and a tortoiſe-ſhell deſk, for his majeſty's uſe, moſt richly and elegantly inlaid with ſilver. On the table lay a catalogue of concertos for the new palace, and a book of manuſcript *Solfeggi*, as his majeſty calls them, or preludes, compoſed of difficult diviſions and paſſages for the exerciſe of the hand, as the vocal *Solfeggi* are for the throat. His majeſty has books of this kind, for the uſe of his flute, in the muſic-room of every one of his palaces.' CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

'In every apartment of the new palace through which I was conducted, there appeared a ſtudied elegance and delicacy in the furniture, which I had never met with before. The taſte, indeed, is rather that of France than Italy: however, it is the beſt of the kind, and includes both elegance and convenience. The hall, called THE MARBLE GALLERY, is truly ſuperb, and worthy of royalty. It is extremely ſpacious and lofty, and is totally encruſted with red ſpotted marble, called *Red Carolini*, mixed with white Italian marble. The pavement likewiſe is of white marble, and the cieling is ornamented with three large pictures, in gilt ſtucco frames, painted by Rode, the ſubjects of which are morning, noon, and night. Though his majeſty's principal collection of paintings, is in the picture gallery at Sans-Souci, yet there are two or three rooms in the

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

'new palace, very rich in works of capital 'Italian maſters. But it is out of my province 'to enumerate theſe: and for the coſtly gold 'and ſilver hangings, the exquiſitely varniſhed 'wainſcots, rich cielings, or Moſaic floors, they 'are not to be deſcribed.

'OPPOSITE to the great front of this palace, 'there are two elegant buildings of white ſtone, 'joined together, by a ſuperb ſemi-circular co- 'lonnade of fluted pillars, of the Corinthian 'order. Theſe buildings are called, the GREAT 'COMMONS; in the lower part of which are the 'kitchens, cellars, and other offices; and, in the 'upper ſtories, lodging-rooms for the king's 'attendants, and for foreigners of diſtinction. 'At the front of each building, there is a double 'circular eſcalier, which leads to a colonnade 'of inſulated and fluted Corinthian pillars, 'which ſupport a pediment, ornamented with 'ſtatues: at each wing is placed a ſmall tower, 'with a cupola. The idea of theſe buildings is 'taken from the ruins of Palmyra. Indeed, his 'Pruſſian majeſty has made as frequent uſe of 'the remains of Athens, Palmyra, and Balbec, 'in the temples, ruins, and other buildings, in 'his gardens, as he has at Potſdam of the de- 'ſigns of Palladio, Sanſovino, and Scammozi[173].'

[173] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 144—149.

THE

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THE ground on which this new palace was erected, was before a moraſs, and the whole country around was naked and barren; and with a reference to the king's known infidelity, and to the rapidity with which this palace was conſtructed, and the face of the country changed, it was ſaid by a German wit, 'It muſt be 'allowed, that his majeſty performs miracles, 'though he believes none [174].'

FREDERICK purchaſed a great number of paintings for the decoration of his palaces; but, in making his purchaſes, he paid little attention to the opinions of connoiſſeurs. Without any regard to the names of painters, he ſelected ſuch pieces only as appeared to himſelf to be excellent. 'It has no weight with him,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'that the piece is ſaid to be by Raphael, 'Guido, or Correggio. If he ſee no beauty in 'it, he ſays ſo, and without ceremony prefers 'the work of a modern or obſcure painter. 'This is conſidered by many critics in painting 'as blaſphemy, and ſhocks them more than any 'other ſpecies of impiety. A painter, and great 'connoiſſeur, whom the king had diſguſted, by 'rejecting ſome pictures of his recommending, 'and by purchaſing others which he had con-'demned, ſaid, ſpeaking of the king, "The "man imagines, becauſe he can play on the

[174] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 143, 144.

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" German flute, and has been praiſed by a " parcel of poets and philoſophers, and has " gained ten or a dozen battles, that therefore " he underſtands painting. But fighting battles " is one thing, and a true knowledge of paint- " ing is another, and that he will find to his " coſt [175]."

BUT though the king had no partiality for antient painters of great name, if he could not find excellence in their works, he had yet a great prejudice againſt German artiſts. One day colonel Quintus ſhewed him a picture of conſiderable merit, which at firſt he greatly admired; but when he was informed, that it was painted by a German artiſt, who lived at Berlin, he ſaid, 'I do not like it; take it away.' The painter was ſo much exaſperated at the reception which his picture had met with from the king, that when it was returned to him, he threw it into the fire. Soon after Frederick wanted a picture to fill up a vacant place, and told Quintus, that he would purchaſe the picture that he had before rejected. Quintus informed him, that this was impoſſible; becauſe the painter, finding that he could not pleaſe his majeſty, had burnt his picture. 'Well, Quintus,' ſaid the king, 'that 'I call caprice.' 'Yes, ſire,' replied the colonel,

[175] View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 123, 124. edit. 1786.

'though

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'though he is a German artiſt, he has all the 'caprice of an Italian [176].'

FREDERICK diſcovered a ſimilar prejudice againſt mademoiſelle Schmeling, now the celebrated madame Mara, when he was requeſted to hear her ſing. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon to hear her: 'A German 'ſinger!' ſaid he; 'I ſhould as ſoon expect to 'receive pleaſure from the neighing of my 'horſe [177].' But when he had heard her, he was ſo much delighted with her performance [B], that he took her into his ſervice, and gave her a penſion of four thouſand crowns [178].

HIS prejudices againſt German artiſts ſeem to have been extended to workmen of every kind, in whoſe performances any degree of ingenuity could be exhibited. He had been preſented, by the count de Rothenburg, with a ſnuff-box, of

[176] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 10. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 148, 149.

[177] Burney's Preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 110, 111.

[B] Dr. Burney ſays, 'After he had heard her ſing one 'ſong, his majeſty is ſaid to have ſought among his manuſcript 'muſic for the moſt difficult airs in his collection, in order to 'try her powers, as much as to gratify his own ear; but ſhe 'executed, at ſight, whatever he commanded her to perform, 'in all ſtyles, as well as if ſhe had practiſed each of theſe 'compoſitions during her whole life.' Preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 111.

[178] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra.

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very curious workmanſhip, which he ſuppoſed to have been made at Paris, and which, under that idea, he greatly admired. But when, after having had it for a conſiderable time, he accidentally diſcovered that it had been really made at Berlin, he would keep it no longer, but gave it away to one of his attendants [179].

[179] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra, p. 9.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

The king of Pruſſia pays a viſit to the emperor, at Neuſtadt, in Moravia.—The territories of Dantzick invaded by Pruſſian troops.—Partition of Poland.

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AS the king of Pruſſia had received a viſit from the emperor of Germany in Sileſia, in the year 1769, in the following year he paid a viſit to the emperor, in his turn, at Neuſtadt in Moravia. It was on the third of September, 1770, that Frederick arrived at the emperor's camp; the meeting between theſe two great princes was apparently attended with much mutual eſteem and regard [c]; and a grand review was made of the Auſtrian troops for the king's entertainment. But, at the preſent period, Frederick's own troops were not wholly inactive: on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, a body of Pruſſian troops made a ſudden irruption, at two o'clock in the morning, into the territories of Dantzick, where they ſurprized ſeveral of the

[c] 'The meeting between theſe great monarchs was in 'appearance ſo cordial and affectionate, as greatly to affect 'the beholders, particularly the troops, many of whom re-'membered, and had experienced, the fatal conſequences of 'the animoſity that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two 'families.' Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 42, 43.

out-

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out-poſts, ſeized the cannon, and made the men priſoners. They were afterwards reinforced to the number of five thouſand, and encamped about four miles from the city, where they continued ſome weeks, but obſerved an exact diſcipline [180]. The pretence for this invaſion of the territories of Dantzick was, that the magiſtrates had forbidden the Pruſſian recruiting officers to levy men within their free city; and that the poſt-maſter had refuſed to paſs ſome caſks of ſilver, which came for the Pruſſian reſident, without examination. It was remarked, that the complaint founded on the laſt of theſe cauſes, was the more groundleſs, as the poſt-office belonged to the king of Poland, and the magiſtrates had no authority over it [181].

THE inhabitants of Dantzick, having ſecured their gates, immediately applied to all the foreign miniſters, to write to their reſpective courts, to ſolicit their protection, or interceſſion in their favour. But no effectual interpoſition was made in their behalf: and the reſult was, that, in about a month, the city, upon agreeing to pay ſeventy-five thouſand ducats, and ſubſcribing to certain conditions, was admitted to depute two counſellors, to make a ſubmiſſion to his Pruſſian majeſty. The conditions were: firſt, that they ſhould ſettle and pay, without delay, all the de-

[180] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 43.

[181] Id. ibid.

manus

mands made by the king's ſubjects on the city or burghers; ſecondly, that the Pruſſians ſhould have liberty to enliſt recruits; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Dantzick ſhould not harbour any Pruſſian deſerters; fourthly, that the money conſigned to the Pruſſian reſident ſhould not be liable to inſpection; and, fifthly, that the inhabitants ſhould 'comport themſelves in ſuch a 'manner, as not to give any future cauſe of 'complaint to his Pruſſian majeſty [182].' At the ſame time, all the Pruſſian ſubjects, who were reſident at Dantzick, were peremptorily ordered to return to their reſpective countries [D].

FREDERICK was, indeed, now ſo much determined to increaſe the population of his own dominions, that he adopted very extraordinary methods for that purpoſe. His troops entered into Great Poland, in the year 1771; and, during the ſpace of that year, he is ſaid to have carried off from that province, and from the neighbour-

[182] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 44.

[D] It has been remarked, that 'Nothing could be more 'arbitrary, nor attended with circumſtances of greater cruelty 'than this act. Many of theſe people had married, had formed 'all their connections, had acquired conſiderable fortunes, 'and had ſpent the principal part of their lives in that great 'trading city. So that this order carried along with it all 'the pungent ſtings of baniſhment from a native country, at 'the moſt critical periods, and in the moſt intereſting ſituations of life.' Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

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hood, at a moderate computation, twelve thouſand families [183]. On the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year, the king of Pruſſia alſo publiſhed an edict in that province, commanding every perſon, under the ſevereſt penalties, to take in payment for forage, proviſions, corn, and horſes, the money offered by his troops and commiſſaries. This money was either ſilver, bearing the impreſſion of Poland, and exactly worth one-third of its nominal value, or ducats ſtruck in imitation of Dutch ducats, ſeventeen per cent. inferior to the real ducats of Holland [184]. With this baſe money [E] he bought up

[183] Lind's Letters concerning the preſent State of Poland, ſecond edit. 1773, p. 113.

[184] Ibid. ut ſupra.

[E] It appears that Frederick at ſeveral different times coined money, the real value of which was greatly inferior to what it paſſed for; and though his ſubjects were directed to take it, his revenue officers were forbidden to take it again in taxes. When ſome of this baſe money was in circulation, the king was one day riding near Potſdam, and over-heard a diſpute between a baker and a peaſant, occaſioned by the refuſal of the latter to take ſome of this bad money in exchange. The king rode up to the peaſant, and aſked him, what was the reaſon that he would not take the money? The peaſant looked him full in the face, and ſaid dryly, 'Will you take 'it yourſelf?' The king made him no anſwer, but turned his horſe's head, and rode off.

Mr. Lind ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, during the laſt war, 'over-run all Germany and Poland with falſe and adulterate 'coin. Inſtead of calling it in, at the end of the war, he 'cried

up corn, and forage, though not only to ſupply his army for two whole years, but to ſtock magazines in the country itſelf, where the inhabitants were forced to come and re-purchaſe corn for their daily ſubſiſtence, at an advanced price, and with good money, his commiſſaries refuſing to take the ſame coin they had paid. It is ſaid, that, at the loweſt calculation, 'he gained, by 'this maſterly and honeſt manœuvre, ſeven 'millions of dollars [F].'

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BESIDES

'cried it down, and declared it no longer current in his own 'dominions. As he had bought up, during the war, many 'cattle and much corn in Poland, that kingdom ſuffered 'ſeverely by this unuſual proceeding. All the good ſilver in-'ſenſibly diſappeared. The proportion between the maſs of 'ſilver and gold was deſtroyed.' Letters concerning Poland, p. 40, 41.

[F] Mr. Lind ſays, Frederick 'having ſtripped the coun-'try of money and proviſions, he thought it, I ſuppoſe, an 'act of humanity to thin it ſtill more of inhabitants. He hit 'upon a new contribution. Every town and village was 'obliged to furniſh a certain number of marriageable girls; 'the parents to give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, 'a cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold. A letter I re-'ceived from Poſnania, in the month of March laſt, (1772) 'informed me, that a little town, called Korztrzym, with its 'dependencies, was forced to furniſh general Belling fifty 'marriageable girls, with each this portion; and a correſpon-'dent I have at Stargard, a town belonging to the king of 'Pruſſia, informed me about the ſame time, that ſeveral 'waggons filled with this new kind of contribution had paſſed 'through that town.

'His

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BESIDES thoſe unjuſtifiable actions, of which the king of Pruſſia was guilty at the preſent period, he had alſo a great ſhare, and is ſaid to have been the prime mover [G], in the Partition of

'His exactions from the abbeys, convents, cathedrals, and 'nobles, were ſo heavy, and exceeded at laſt their abilities 'ſo much, that the prieſts abandoned the churches, and the 'nobles their lands. Thoſe whom age or infirmities pre- 'vented from flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried 'off as criminals.'—'Theſe exactions continued with un 'abated rigour, from the year 1770 to the time the treaty of 'partition was declared, and poſſeſſion taken of the provinces 'uſurped. The loſs of inhabitants is not eaſily to be calcu- 'lated: that of money has been, I believe, moderately com- 'puted at three millions of ducats.' Letters concerning Poland, ut ſupra, p. 114, 115, 116.

[G] Mr. Coxe, who appears to have been very diligent in his inquiries reſpecting the ſteps that were taken, preparatory to the Partition of Poland, ſays, 'The PARTITION OF 'POLAND was firſt projected by the king of Pruſſia. Poliſh, 'or Weſtern Pruſſia, had long been an object of his ambition. 'Excluſively of its fertility, commerce, and population, its 'local ſituation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch. 'It lay between his German dominions and Eaſtern Pruſſia, 'and while poſſeſſed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all 'communication between them. During the courſe of the 'laſt general war, he experienced the moſt fatal effects from 'this disjointed ſtate of his territories. By the acquiſition of 'Weſtern Pruſſia, his dominions would be rendered compact, 'and his troops, in time of war, be able to march from 'Berlin to Koningſberg without interruption. The period 'was now arrived, when the ſituation of Poland ſeemed to 'promiſe the attainment of this favourite object. He purſued 'it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On

'the

of Poland. The divided and unhappy ſtate of that country, rendered it the more eaſy for the uſurping

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'the commencement of the troubles, he ſhewed no eagerneſs 'to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he 'had concurred with the empreſs of Ruſſia in raiſing Staniſlaus 'Auguſtus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking 'any active part in his favour againſt the confederates. After-'wards, in 1769, when the whole kingdom became convulſed 'throughout with civil commotions, and deſolated likewiſe 'by the plague; he, under pretence of forming lines to pre-'vent the ſpreading of the infection, advanced his troops 'into Poliſh Pruſſia, and occupied that whole diſtrict.

'Though now completely maſter of the country, and by 'no means apprehenſive of any formidable reſiſtance from the 'diſunited and diſtracted Poles; yet, as he was well aware 'that the ſecurity of his new acquiſition depended upon the 'acquieſcence of Ruſſia and Auſtria, he planned the Partition 'of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, 'either during their interview at Neiſs, in Sileſia, in 1769, 'or in that of the following year, at Neuſtadt; from whom 'the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joſeph, who 'had before ſecretly encouraged the confederates, and even 'commenced a negociation with the Porte againſt Ruſſia, now 'ſuddenly altered his meaſures, and increaſed his army to-'wards the Poliſh frontiers. The plague preſenting to him, 'as well as to the king of Pruſſia, a ſpecious motive for 'ſtationing troops in the dominions of the republic, he gra-'dually extended his lines; and, in 1772, occupied the whole 'territory which he has ſince diſmembered. But, notwith-'ſtanding this change in his ſentiments, his real views upon 'Poland were at firſt ſo effectually concealed, that the Poliſh 'rebels conceived that the Auſtrian army was advancing to 'act in their favour; not ſuppoſing it poſſible, that the rival 'courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

'Nothing

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uſurping powers to ſucceed in this iniquitous tranſaction. The Poliſh nation was involved in a civil

'Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, 'than the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia. That great 'princeſs was too diſcerning a politician not to regard with 'a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. 'Poſſeſſing an uncontrouled aſcendancy over the whole coun- 'try, ſhe could propoſe no material advantage from the formal 'acquiſition of a part; and muſt purchaſe a moderate addition 'to her territory by a conſiderable ſurrender of authority. 'The king of Pruſſia, well acquainted with the true intereſts 'of Ruſſia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the 'empreſs to diſcern thoſe intereſts, forebore (it is ſaid) open- 'ing any negociation on the ſubject of the partition, until ſhe 'was involved in a Turkiſh war. At that criſis he diſpatched 'his brother prince Henry to Peterſburgh, who ſuggeſted to 'the empreſs, that the houſe of Auſtria was forming an alli- 'ance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a 'moſt formidable combination againſt her; that, nevertheleſs, 'the friendſhip of that houſe was to be purchaſed by acceding 'to the partition; that, upon this condition, the emperor was 'willing to renounce his connexion with the grand ſignior, 'and would ſuffer the Ruſſians to proſecute the war without 'interruption. Catharine, anxious to puſh her conqueſts 'againſt the Turks, and dreading the interpoſition of the 'emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewiſe, from the in- 'timate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that 'it would not be in her power, at the preſent juncture, to 'prevent the intended partition, cloſed with the propoſal; 'and ſelected no inconſiderable portion of the Poliſh territo- 'ries for herſelf. The treaty was ſigned at Peterſburgh, in 'the beginning of February, 1772, by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, 'and Pruſſian plenipotentiaries.

'As

a civil war, which had taken its riſe from the bigotry of the Romiſh clergy [H]; and more than

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'As the troops of the three courts were already in poſſeſ-
'ſion of the greateſt part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed
'in on all ſides, were ſoon routed and diſperſed; and Europe
'waited in anxious expectation what would be the iſſue of
'this unexpected union. Yet, ſuch was the profound ſecrecy
'with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that, for ſome
'time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjec-
'tures were entertained even at Warſaw concerning their real
'intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the Engliſh miniſter
'at Peterſburgh, was able to obtain no authentic information
'of its ſignature, until two months after the event. The
'firſt formal notification of any pretenſions to the Poliſh ter-
'ritory was in the month of September, 1772, announced to
'the king and ſenate aſſembled at Warſaw, by the Imperial
'ambaſſador; which was ſoon followed by the memorials of
'the Ruſſian and Pruſſian courts, ſpecifying their reſpective
'claims.' Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, &c. vol. I. p. 65—70. edit. 8vo. 1787.

[H] In 1766, two Poliſh gentlemen preſented a petition to the king of Poland, in the name of all the Proteſtant nobility, and in behalf alſo of the members of the Greek church, wherein they demanded to be reinſtated in their antient rights and privileges, and to be placed upon the ſame footing in every reſpect with the Roman Catholic ſubjects of Poland. The Proteſtants and members of the Greek church, who were conjointly called the Diſſidents, ſaid in their petition, 'The dif-
'ference of ſentiments upon ſome points of religion among
'Chriſtians, ought not to enter into any conſideration with
'regard to the employments of the ſtate. The different ſects
'of Chriſtians, although they differ in opinion among them-
'ſelves with reſpect to ſome points of doctrine, agree all in
'one point, that of being faithful to their ſovereign, and
'obedient

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than two hundred thouſand of the Poles had been alſo carried off by the peſtilence. At this diſtreſsful period, the project of the partition was formed [1]; by which ſome of the fineſt provinces

obedient to his orders. All the Chriſtian courts are convinced of this truth; and, therefore, having always this principle in view, and without having any regard to the religion they profeſs, Chriſtian princes ought only to ſeek after thoſe, whoſe merit and talents make them capable of ſerving their country properly.' The claims of the Diſſidents were founded upon juſtice and reaſon, and were ſupported by the courts of Peterſburgh, of London, of Berlin, and of Copenhagen. But the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland vehemently oppoſed the claims of the Diſſidents, and a civil war took place, which was increaſed by the improper interference of the Ruſſians in the affairs of the republic. It was natural that the king of Pruſſia, from the ſentiments of religious toleration that he had always avowed, ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the Diſſidents; but, from the manner in which he did this, it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that his chief aim, in interfering in the affairs of Poland, was to promote the views of his own ambition.

[1] Frederick ſays, that the plan of partition was 'expedited to Peterſburgh; a carte blanche was given to the empreſs, who was empowered to chooſe any one of the provinces of Poland of which ſhe ſhould think it moſt proper to take poſſeſſion. The king demanded for his ſhare Pomerellia, the diſtrict of Great Poland which lies on this ſide the Netze, the biſhopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm, leaving to the Auſtrians the power of acceding to the treaty, if they ſhould think proper.' Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 66. In Frederick's account of the proceedings relative to the partition of Poland, he has nothing ſolid to allege in juſtification of it; but he pretends,

vinces of Poland were diſmembered from the republic and divided among the uſurping powers [K]. They found it difficult at firſt to ſettle their reſpective claims; but it was at length agreed, that Poliſh Pruſſia, and ſome diſtricts bordering upon Brandenburgh, ſhould be allotted to the king of Pruſſia; almoſt all the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the kingdom, bordering upon Hungary, together with the rich ſalt-works of the crown, were appropriated to the empreſs-queen; and a large diſtrict of country about Mohilow, upon the banks of the Dnieper, was taken poſſeſſion of by the empreſs of Ruſſia [L]. CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1772.

THE

that it was a meaſure calculated to prevent a war. However, before the partition took place, he ſays, that 'the deſpotiſm, 'with which the court of Peterſburgh acted in the republic 'of Poland, was revolting to the Sarmatians, and induced a 'part of Europe to oppoſe Ruſſia.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

[K] The conſtitution of the Poliſh government was in many reſpects ſo bad, that if a change had been made in it even by violent methods, it might not upon the whole have been prejudicial to the people. But the partitioning powers had no wiſh to remedy the defects of the Poliſh government. On the contrary, they laboured to perpetuate, in thoſe parts of the country which they did not ſeize for themſelves, the worſt parts of the Poliſh conſtitution. 'Under pretence,' ſays Mr. Coxe, 'of amending the conſtitution, they have confirmed all 'its defects; and have taken effectual precautions to render 'this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its preſent 'deplorable ſtate.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 76.

[L] Mr. Coxe ſays, that 'of the diſmembered countries, 'the Ruſſian province is the largeſt, the Auſtrian the moſt

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THE courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated againſt the partition of Poland; but as theſe remonſtrances were not ſupported by affording any effectual aſſiſtance to the Poles, they were without effect. A declara-

'populous, and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial. The popu-
'lation of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of ſouls;
'the firſt contains 1,500,000, the ſecond 2,500,000, and the
'third 860,000. 'Weſtern Pruſſia was the greateſt loſs to
'Poland, as by the diſmemberment of that province, the
'navigation of the Viſtula entirely depends upon the king of
'Pruſſia. By the loſs conſequently of this diſtrict, a fatal
'blow was given to the trade of Poland: for his Pruſſian
'majeſty has laid ſuch heavy duties upon the merchandize
'paſſing to Dantzick, as greatly to diminiſh the commerce of
'that town, and to transfer a conſiderable portion of it to
'Memel and Koningſberg.'

It is farther obſerved by Mr. Coxe, that 'Although the
'limits of Poland were ſettled by the treaty of partition, yet
'the Auſtrians and Pruſſians continually extended their fron-
'tiers: the emperor ſeized upon Caſimir, and even avowed an
'intention of taking poſſeſſion of Cracow and Kaminiec;
'while Frederick alleged theſe uſurpations as a juſtification
'for ſimilar encroachments on his part; urging, that he could
'not, conſiſtent with his own ſecurity, ſee the emperor in-
'creaſing his dominions without following his example, and
'aſſuming an equivalent. Catharine was forced for a time to
'connive at theſe encroachments; but no ſooner was peace
'eſtabliſhed with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff
'cruſhed, than ſhe immediately turned her whole attention to
'Poland; and it is owing to her ſpirited remonſtrances, that
'both Auſtrians and Pruſſians have relinquiſhed their uſurpa-
'tions, and confined themſelves to the limits marked by the
'treaty of partition.' Travels, ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74.

tion was publiſhed by the king and ſenate of Poland, dated at Warſaw, Oct. 17, 1772, and ſigned by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania, in which are the following paſſages: CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1772.

'The rights of the republic to all her provinces, have every poſſible mark of ſolidity and authenticity. An uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many ages, avowed and maintained by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and particularly by thoſe of Velaw and Oliva, guarantied by the houſe of Auſtria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686, with Ruſſia;—by the expreſs and recent declarations of this laſt power;—by thoſe of Pruſſia in 1674;—and, laſtly, by treaties with the houſe of Auſtria, now in full force and vigour. On theſe foundations the rights of the republic are grounded. The court of Warſaw contents itſelf with barely pointing them out at preſent, reſerving the right of ſupporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

'WHAT titles can the three powers oppoſe to theſe? If they are titles dug out of the obſcurity of antient times, of thoſe times of ſudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and deſtroyed, ceded and reſtored ſtates, in the ſhort ſpace of a few months or years; theſe titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of Poland many provinces, which formerly

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'belonged to it, but which for many years have 'been occupied by the very powers who now 'form pretenſions on her.

'BUT as it is undeniable, that not only diſtance 'actions buried in the oblivion of diſtant ages, 'but all tranſactions whatever, are annihilated 'by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the later 'ſtipulations between Poland and her neighbours 'oppoſe directly the partition they would now 'make, it follows, that the titles, on which that 'partition is founded, cannot be admitted, with-'out undermining the rights of every ſtate, 'without ſhaking every throne from its founda-'tion.'

'THE preſent proceedings of the three courts 'giving the moſt ſerious ſubject of complaint to 'the king, and the duties of his crown not per-'mitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, he 'declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he 'looks upon the actual ſeizure of the provinces 'of Poland, by the courts of Vienna, Peterſ-'burgh, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, and con-'trary to his lawful rights: he appeals to the 'treaties, and powers guarantees of his kingdom 'and its appurtenances. And, laſtly, full of 'confidence in the juſtice of the Almighty, he 'lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne; 'and puts his cauſe into the hands of the King 'of kings, the ſupreme Judge of nations: and, 'in the full aſſurance of his ſuccour, he proteſts 'ſolemnly,

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'solemnly, and before the whole universe, against 'every step taken, or to be taken, towards the 'dismembering of Poland [185].'

NOTWITHSTANDING the appeals of the king and people of Poland, against the violence and injustice of those who had taken possession of their dominions, they were at length compelled, as they received no assistance from any foreign state, to submit to the dismemberment of the territories of the republic, by the superior power of the three usurping potentates; and a pretended diet was even held at Warsaw, by which the treaty of partition was ratified. But before that event could take place, the king of Prussia published what he called 'letters patent,' in which he stated his claims, and appointed a day for all the inhabitants of those districts, which he had seized, to do homage, and take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to him, in the presence of commissaries appointed by him for that purpose. 'We persuade ourselves,' said he, 'that 'all the inhabitants of the said districts will 'conform themselves to these our orders; but if, 'contrary to our expectations, any person should 'presume to disobey the same, by neglecting to 'take the oath of allegiance, refusing to submit 'himself to our dominion, and to acknowledge

[185] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 336, 337, 338, 339. Annual Register, for the year 1772, p. 254, 255.

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'us for his maſter [M], or by reſiſting our troops, 'and others commiſſioned to carry theſe our 'orders into execution, or, in ſhort, ſhould in 'any wiſe render himſelf guilty, or even ſuſ-'PECTED of infidelity and diſobedience, all ſuch 'may be aſſured, that we ſhall proceed againſt 'them, without exception of perſons, with all 'the rigour uſual in ſuch caſes [186].'

OF the principles and conduct of the three uſurping powers [N], a more accurate idea may be

[M] A very ſhort time was allowed for the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts to do homage to the king of Pruſſia, and to take the oaths of allegiance to him: for the letters patent were dated at Berlin on the thirteenth of September, 1772, and the day fixed for doing homage, and taking the oaths, was the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month. It has been juſtly remarked, that 'no ſecurity, either of perſon or property, was 'granted by theſe letters patent, to thoſe who from principles 'of honour, or conſcience, or a diſlike to foreign laws and a 'military government, would ſooner abandon their country, 'than be guilty of a violation of the one, or ſubmit to a 'compliance with the other. As little regard was ſhewn to 'the rights of thoſe, who were abſent in other countries, and 'who, from the ſhortneſs of time, could not poſſibly comply 'with the terms preſcribed. The ſame diſregard to the 'eſtabliſhed rights of mankind was ſhewn in the Auſtrian 'ſpecifications.' Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 34.

[186] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 359, 360.

[N] Mr. Coxe obſerves, that 'it is extremely worthy of 'remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Pruſſia was 'formerly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the republic; Ruſſia once 'ſaw its capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; and Auſtria,

'ſcarcely

be formed, by attending to the declarations made by each of them, before the partition of Poland had taken place. In the year 1764, the empreſs of Ruſſia tranſmitted to the court of Warſaw an act, ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with the ſeal of the empire, wherein ſhe declared, 'That ſhe did by no means arrogate either to 'herſelf, her heirs, and ſucceſſors, or to her 'empire, any right or claim to the diſtricts or 'territories, which were actually in poſſeſſion, 'or ſubject to the authority of the kingdom of 'Poland, or great duchy of Lithuania; but that, 'on the contrary, her ſaid majeſty would gua-'ranty to the ſaid kingdom of Poland, and 'duchy of Lithuania, all the immunities, lands, 'territories, and diſtricts, which the ſaid king-'dom and duchy ought by right to poſſeſs, or 'did then actually poſſeſs; and would, at all 'times, and for ever, maintain them in the full 'and free enjoyment thereof, againſt the at-'tempts of all who ſhould at any time, or on 'any pretext, endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them of the 'ſame.' In the ſame year the king of Pruſſia ſigned, with his own hand, an act, wherein he declared, that 'he had no claims, and formed 'no pretenſions on Poland, or any part thereof;

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'ſcarcely a century ago, was indebted to a ſovereign of this 'country for the preſervation of its metropolis, and almoſt 'for its very exiſtence.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 63, 64.

'and

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'and that he renounced all claims on that king-'dom, either as king of Pruſſia, elector of Bran-'denburgh, or duke of Pomerania.' In the ſame inſtrument he guarantied, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the territories and rights of Poland againſt every power whatſoever. The empreſs-queen alſo, in the month of January, 1772, wrote a letter with her own hand to the king of Poland, in which, after the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of unalterable friendſhip, for him and the republic, and deſiring that the motions of her troops might give no alarm to either, ſhe concluded by aſſuring him, that 'ſhe never had 'entertained a thought of ſeizing any part of 'his dominions, nor would ever ſuffer any other 'power to do ſo[187].'

A MORE flagrant act of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and tyranny, has ſeldom appeared in the hiſtory of mankind, than the partition of Poland. It was unvarniſhed by any ſpecious pretences, or plauſible appearances. The manifeſtoes, iſſued by the uſurping powers upon the occaſion, were too futile, and too palpably ridiculous, to impoſe even on the groſſeſt underſtanding. As to the king of Pruſſia, the partition was a meaſure perfectly ſuitable to the favourite object of his ambition, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and, when this was the point in view, juſtice and injuſtice were trifling conſiderations. Coun-

[187] Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 25.

Hertzberg

Hertzberg has aſſerted, that, of theſe claims, that of the king of Pruſſia was the beſt founded[188]. Of three ſuch claims, it may be difficult to determine, which was the moſt iniquitous. This, however, may be certainly determined, that none of the claims had the leaſt foundation in juſtice, [illegible], or reaſon. They originated in unprincipled ambition, and were enforced in a manner [o], that ought never to be ſpoken of but in

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[188] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière anné, &c. p. 25.

[o] A contemporary writer, ſpeaking of the ſtate of Poland at this period, ſays, 'In Poland all the barriers that have been 'erected in the various hiſtory of mankind, to protect individuals, or to alleviate the calamities to which they are 'liable, in thoſe wars that too frequently ariſe, from the rage, 'the folly, or the ambition of their rulers, have been torn 'up, and totally overthrown.'—'No attention is now paid, 'either to the laws of nations, or to the rights of individuals. The inhabitants, without being abſolved from their 'natural government, or having any ſecurity againſt her indignation, if ſhe were enabled to ſhew it, are compelled, 'under pain of confiſcation, and all the other penalties that 'power can inflict, to renounce their natural allegiance, break 'their former oaths, and take new ones at a ſhort warning 'to ſtrangers. The unhappy nobility, who are the lords of 'the ſoil, are at the ſame time diſperſed throughout Europe, 'having fled for refuge to different countries, to avoid the 'calamities and horrors of their own; and, if they were diſpoſed to comply with the conditions, could not poſſibly do 'it in the time preſcribed.' Annual Regiſter for the year 1772, p. 37, 38.

'The eſtates of the princes Czartoriſki, amounting to more 'than 20,000l. ſterling a year, have been confiſcated by the 'empreſs

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in terms of indignation, while any ſenſe of vice or virtue ſhall remain among mankind.

IN the letters patent which had been publiſhed by the king of Pruſſia, relative to the diſtricts that he had ſeized in Poland, the cities of Dantzick and Thorn had been particularly excepted from his claims. But he ſoon after ſeized the territories belonging to Dantzick, under pretence of their having been formerly part of Poliſh Pruſſia. They had been alienated and ceded to the city by the kings of Poland; but Frederick declared, that thoſe alienations were void, becauſe having been made at a time, when the

' empreſs of Ruſſia; though theſe two princes are uncles to ' the king, are poſſeſſed of the higheſt offices under the ſtate, ' and were not acquainted time enough with the neceſſity of ' their perſonal attendance, to have complied, if they had ' been diſpoſed to forfeit their allegiance. All the eſtates of ' count Kicki, the ſtaroſt of Lemburg, have been alſo for- ' feited, for nobly refuſing to betray his country, by ſwearing ' allegiance to the empreſs-queen.

' Prince Radzivil, who enjoyed ſuch immenſe poſſeſſions in ' Lithuania, that they exceeded thoſe of many ſovereign ' princes, and whoſe anceſtors had raiſed and ſupported con- ' ſiderable armies at their private expence, was one of the ' many, who, at the beginning of theſe troubles, became a ' dupe to the deſigns of Ruſſia; but having been at length ' too fatally convinced of his error, he retired into Germany. ' The Ruſſians offered to reſtore him every thing, but his ' plate and his library, if he would return and take the oaths; ' but he bravely anſwered, ' That he was born free, his an- ' ceſtors were free, and he would die ſo.' Ibid. p. 44, 45.

province

province and town were under the ſame prince, the reaſons of making them ceaſed, now that they were fallen under the dominion of different maſters." Upon the ſame pretext, he alſo ſeized upon the little iſland of Holm, and upon two peninſulas that run into the harbour, together with the ſuburbs called Scheidlitz and Scharpau, the diſtrict of Nehring, and the canal called the Fallrwaſſer. He had before ſeized, as parts of Poliſh Pruſſia, an angle of the port called Pwziger-Winkel; the ſuburbs of Dantzick, called Scotland, Hoppenbruch, and Holland; a little town called Stolzemberg, a village called Langfauhr, together with the abbey of Oliva, and all its dependencies [189]. By theſe ſeizures he effectually commanded the city, being maſter of all the heights around it, and of its gates, works, and harbour [P]. Being alſo eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion

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[189] Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 38. Letters concerning Poland; p. 268, 269.

[P] Frederick alſo contrived to gain poſſeſſion of the poſt-office at Dantzick. 'The king of Poland had a revenue ſtill 'left, ariſing from the poſt-office at Dantzick: this miſerable 'fragment, and ſupport of royalty, could not eſcape the 'watchful attention of the king of Pruſſia. He alſo erected a 'new poſt-office at Stolzemberg; and the merchants of this 'great commercial city, afforded the new and ridiculous ap-'pearance, of being obliged to travel out of town to receive 'or forward their letters. By this means he not only ſeized 'the revenues of the old poſt-office, but, what was of infi-'nitely greater importance, became maſter of the whole public

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ſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, he immediately ſeized on the port-duties belonging to Dantzick, and erected a cuſtom-houſe on the harbour, where he laid inſupportable duties, at his pleaſure, upon all goods, whether exports or imports. The maſters and owners of veſſels having refuſed to pay this arbitrary tribute, thirty-five of their ſhips were ſtopped at once. The foreign miniſters and conſuls applied for redreſs upon this occaſion, but in vain; ſo that all commerce and buſineſs were entirely at a ſtand, till the mer-

'public and private correſpondence of Dantzick.'—'To 'complete the ſyſtem of oppreſſion, cuſtom-houſes were erected 'at their very gates, ſo that no perſon could go in or out of 'town, without being ſearched in the ſtricteſt manner.'— 'Such was the fate of the great mart of the North, the Pro- 'teſtant and once noble and free city of Dantzick; and ſuch 'the treatment which it met with from a Proteſtant prince 'and neighbour, who, inſtead of oppreſſing it himſelf, was 'bound by the ſtrongeſt ties to protect it from the oppreſſion 'of others. There is not, perhaps, in hiſtory, a more ſtriking 'inſtance of the futility, if not of the abſurdity of treaties, 'ſo far as they are conſidered as guarantees, or acts of ſecu- 'rity, than the fate of Dantzick. Few cities ever exiſted, 'and it is probable that none do at preſent, that have 'been comprehended in ſo many general and particular 'treaties, whoſe rights and liberties have been ſo frequently 'ſecured, and guarantied by ſo many great powers, and by 'ſuch a long and regular ſucceſſion of public acts, as that of 'Dantzick has been. Nor have the commercial powers of 'Europe ſo often armed in the defence or ſupport of any 'other.' Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 40, 41.

chants

chants were at length obliged to comply with the demands that were made upon them, which, however unjuſt, they had no power to oppoſe [190]. The Engliſh merchants had always enjoyed great privileges at Dantzick; and theſe privileges had been repeatedly confirmed to them by treaty: but their privileges were no more regarded than thoſe of other nations, and they experienced on this occaſion great violence and injuſtice from the king of Pruſſia. His conduct with regard to Dantzick continued to be, after this period [Q], in

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[190] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 39.

[Q] In a letter written by Mr. Wraxall from Dantzick, and dated Aug. 31, 1774, are the following paſſages: 'I 'croſſed the Viſtula at Dirſchaw, a little town moſt beautifully 'ſituated on its banks, and commanding a view of all this 'fertile country. About an Engliſh mile and a half before I 'got to the town of Dantzick, I came to the laſt Pruſſian 'guard, and entered the territory of the republic, which is 'at preſent diminiſhed on every ſide, and inveſted by huſſars 'and grenadiers of an abſolute prince. Freedom, it is true, 'yet reigns within theſe limits, though narrow, and waves 'her ſacred banner on the ramparts; but how long this may 'continue, is certainly matter of uncertainty and doubt. If 'the melancholy fate of Elbing or Marienbourg can form a 'preſage; if the unfeeling rapacity ſhewn in the diviſion of 'Poland, its feudal parent, and once its protector; if the 'general train of policy, I ſhould rather ſay of unreſtrained 'avidity, exerciſed by the court of Berlin in Poliſh Pruſſia, 'enables one to determine, its final extinction is not far off. 'To what happy or valuable purpoſes, indeed, can the poſ-'ſeſſion of perſonal independence ſerve, when the vital ſpirit

'which

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in a very high degree unjuſt and tyrannical; but he afterwards made ſome relaxation of his claims reſpecting that city.

THE

'which once ſupplied it is fled? Their commerce, their 'revenues, their riches, are already either ſeized on, or 'burthened with impoſts and duties which muſt eventually 'deſtroy them. The city itſelf, which no king of Poland 'ever dared to enſlave; which has for centuries known the 'ſweets of an equal government and public liberty; now 'awaits, in trembling expectation, the hour of its deſtruction, 'and implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to ſave 'her from a new enemy, a ſovereign whoſe claims are equally 'unexpected as unbounded, and who, though apparently re-'ſtrained from open violence by political motives, watches 'only the favourable moment when treachery, or intrigue, 'may put him into poſſeſſion. As a member of the human 'race, and more peculiarly as enjoying in my own perſon the 'bleſſings of liberty, I feel for an unhappy city, which has 'once been great and powerful, but whoſe glories will pro-'bably ſoon be extinguiſhed. Moſt or all the ſuburbs, which 'are very populous and extenſive, are already occupied by 'Pruſſian ſoldiery, who on one ſide are cloſe to the very forti-'fications, a paliſado only ſeparating them from the Dantzick 'guards.'

Mr. Wraxall afterwards, taking notice of his having made inquiries concerning the antiquities of Dantzick, ſays, 'I am 'indebted principally for my information to two gentlemen, 'to whom I have been introduced ſince my arrival, M. le 'baron Zorn and Dr. Wolf, whoſe names I ought not to 'mention without adding the obligations their politeneſs and 'readineſs to communicate knowledge, has laid me under. 'The laſt of them is animated by a ſpirit of independence 'worthy HAMPDEN or SYDNEY. He reſided ſome years 'ſince at Warſaw; but quitted it, on account of the troubles

'and

THE Proteſtant city of Thorn was alſo treated by Frederick, in a manner extremely ſimilar to that CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1774.

'and anarchy which foreign ambition had introduced into that 'capital.' He retired to Dirſchaw, about twenty miles from 'hence, built himſelf an obſervatory for his aſtronomical 'ſtudies, and remained there till the king of Pruſſia ſeized on 'the town and ſurrounding territory. Unable to bear a yoke 'ſo galling, he left Dirſchaw, and removed to this city; and 'he now declares, that, when it is no longer free, he will 'embark for England, where he has already been, and where 'every fugitive may find an aſylum. Happy, glorious coun-'try, which can thus extend its parental protection to perſe-'ſecuted merit of every kind, and where freedom, almoſt 'unknown from the pole to the equator, holds her peaceful 'and gentle reign!'

'I drove out laſt Sunday to ſee the abbey of Oliva, ſo cele-'brated for the peace concluded in it.'—'The abbot's palace, 'and gardens adjoining, are very elegant: but his revenues, 'which amounted only two years ago to 10,000 ducats (or 'near 5000l.) per annum, and the lands of the convent, 'which he enjoyed in full ſovereignty, are now all ſeized by 'the king of Pruſſia, who allows him only 1200 ducats '(about 550l.) as a penſion during life, and about one fourth 'of that ſum to keep the gardens in order. He is by birth a 'nobleman, amiable and benevolent in his character, paſt the 'middle age of life, and univerſally reſpected. Humanity 'feels for ſuch a man, and execrates the rapacity which has 'thus reduced him!—But this is nothing—this is even gene-'roſity and mercy, compared with other ſtories, inconteſtably 'authentic, which I have heard here, reſpecting the Poliſh 'nobles, whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated, and their fami-'lies reduced from a revenue of 100,000 ducats to abſolute 'indigence, by that monarch.' Tour through ſome of the

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that of Dantzick; and it was observable, that though one of his pretences, for interfering in the affairs of Poland, was, to support the cauſe of the Diſſidents, yet, when the partition had taken place, thoſe privileges which had been claimed by the Diſſidents were not conferred upon them. A variety of new and arbitrary regulations were impoſed on the inhabitants of the uſurped provinces; and the Jews, of whom there were great numbers in Poland, were treated with

Northern Parts of Europe, p. 334, 345, 350, 352, 360, 361, edit. 1776.

In another letter the ſame ingenious writer ſays, 'On the 'thirteenth of September, 1772, his Pruſſian majeſty's general 'took poſſeſſion of ELBING in the name of his maſter, and 'drove out the Poliſh garriſon of two hundred men, who 'attempted to make ſome defence. The black eagle has now 'ſupplanted the croſs, their antient arms, and appears over 'every gate of the city. They already feel the rigour and 'rapacity of this new government, which threatens to ſwallow 'up all Poliſh Pruſſia, and to extinguiſh freedom and com-'merce in one general ruin.' Ibid. p. 327.

Of MARIENBOURG Mr. Wraxall alſo ſpeaks in the following terms, in a letter written from thence, and dated Aug. 24, 1774. 'The city of Marienbourg was formerly the head of 'a league, which comprehended twenty-ſeven ſmall towns, 'all ſituate in Poliſh Pruſſia, and which held dietines for the 'regulation of their police, municipal privileges, &c. This 'little confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itſelf 'ſhared the ſame fate as Elbing on the ſame day, the Pruſſian 'ſoldiers having marched in without reſiſtance. There are 'at this time 1600 of them here, which equal the number of 'inhabitants in the place.' Ibid. p. 339, 340.

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ſo much rigour, that many of them quitted the diſtricts that had been ſeized by the Pruſſians and the Auſtrians, and rather choſe to retire into thoſe provinces that had been taken poſſeſſion of by the Ruſſians [191]. To the Jeſuits, in other parts of his dominions, the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period was more favourable. Though the pope had aboliſhed the order, an aſylum was afforded to them in the Pruſſian dominions; and Frederick remarked, in a letter to his agent at Rome, that by the treaty of Breſlaw, he had guarantied the religion in the ſtate in which it then was; and that he had never met with better prieſts than the Jeſuits. He alſo directed him to inform the pope, that as he was of the claſs of heretics, his holineſs could not grant him a diſpenſation for breaking his word, nor from deviating from the duty of an honeſt man, or a king.

ABOUT the cloſe of the year 1775, Frederick was much afflicted with the gout; a circumſtance which produced a conſiderable effect at the court of Vienna, of the particulars of which he has himſelf given the following account: 'Towards 'the end of the year 1775, the king of Pruſſia 'had ſeveral violent fits of the gout. Van 'Swieten, miniſter of the Imperial court at 'Berlin, ſuppoſed this gout to be a confirmed

[191] Annual Regiſter, vol. XVII. p. 21.

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'dropſy; and, flattered by the opportunity of announcing to his court the death of an enemy whom ſhe had long found formidable, he wrote boldly to the emperor, that the king approached his end, and that he could not outlive the year. Behold immediately all the Auſtrian troops on the march; Bohemia was their appointed rendezvous; and the emperor was impatiently waiting at Vienna for the confirmation of this intelligence, that he might inſtantly penetrate into Saxony, and thence march to the frontiers of Brandenburgh, there to propoſe to the ſucceſſor to the throne the alternative, either of immediately ſurrendering all Sileſia to the houſe of Auſtria, or of being cruſhed before he ſhould be able to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence. All theſe things, which were openly performed, and every where rumoured, could have no tendency, as may reaſonably be imagined, to cement the friendſhip of the two courts. This ſcene appeared the more ſingular, becauſe the king of Pruſſia, having been attacked only by the gout, was recovered before the Auſtrian army could be aſſembled; and the emperor then ordered all his troops into their uſual quarters[199].'

[199] Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 205, 206.

CHAP. XXXV.

Frederick's attachment to muſic.—Account of his performance on the German flute, at his private concerts at Sans-Souci.—Particulars relative to the public operas at Berlin.—The king's mode of living at this period.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the variety of buſineſs in which the king of Pruſſia was engaged, his attention to his army, to his finances, to the general adminiſtration of his government, and to foreign affairs, it was ſtill his conſtant practice to devote ſome part of his time to literature, and to muſic. In the latter, he was both a compoſer and a performer; and of his performance on the German flute, at one of his private concerts, at Sans-Souci, we have an account written by Dr. Burney, who viſited the Pruſſian dominions about that period of the king's life, at which I am now arrived. 'I was carried,' ſays that ingenious writer, 'to one of the interior apartments of the 'palace, in which the gentlemen of the king's 'band were waiting for his commands. This 'apartment was contiguous to the concert room, 'where I could diſtinctly hear his majeſty prac-'tiſing *Solfeggi* on the flute, and exerciſing him-'ſelf in difficult paſſages, previouſly to his calling

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'in the band. Here I met with M. [redacted] 'who was ſo obliging as to introduce me to M. 'QUANTZ.'—'We ſoon began a mu[redacted] 'verſation: he told me, that his [redacted] 'ſcholar played no other concertos than thoſe 'which he had expreſsly compoſed for his uſe, 'which amounted to three hundred, and theſe 'he performed in rotation. This excluſive at-'tachment to the productions of his old maſter, 'may appear ſomewhat contracted: however, it 'implies a conſtancy of diſpoſition, but rarely 'to be found among princes.' The compoſitions of the two Grauns and of Quantz have been in favour with his Pruſſian majeſty more than forty years: and, if it be true, as many aſſert, that muſic has declined and degenerated ſince that time, in which the Scarlattis, Vincis, Leos, Pergoleſis, and Porporas flouriſhed, as well as the greateſt ſingers that modern times have known, it is an indication of a ſound judgment, and of great diſcernment, in his majeſty, to adhere thus firmly to the produc-'tions of a period, which may be called the

[N] M. BENDA has been before mentioned, in the firſt volume of this work. He entered into Frederick's ſervice ſeveral years before his acceſſion to the throne, in the year 1732. Dr. Burney ſays, 'He can boaſt of having had the 'honour of accompanying his majeſty, during the forty years 'he has been in his ſervice, in near 50,000 different concerts.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 140.

Auguſt 9

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'Auguſtan age of muſic. To ſtem the torrent of caprice and faſhion with ſuch unſhaken conſtancy, is poſſeſſing a kind of *ſtet ſol*, by which Apollo and his ſons are prevented from running riot, or changing from good to bad, and from bad to worſe.

'These reflections, which occurred to me, while I was converſing with M. Quantz, were interrupted by the arrival of a meſſenger from the king, commanding the gentlemen of his band to attend him in the next room. The concert began by a German flute concerto, in which his majeſty executed the ſolo parts with great preciſion: his *embouchure* was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and his taſte pure and ſimple. I was much pleaſed, and even ſurprized, with the neatneſs of his execution in the *allegros*, as well as by his expreſſion and feeling in the *adagio*: in ſhort, his performance ſurpaſſed, in many particulars, any thing I had ever heard among *Dilettanti*, or even profeſſors. His majeſty played three long and difficult concertos ſucceſſively, and all with equal perfection.'

'M. Quantz bore no other part in the performance of the concertos of to-night, than to give the time with the motion of his hand, at the beginning of each movement, except now and then to cry out *bravo!* to his royal ſcholar, at the end of the ſolo parts and cloſes; which

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'ſeems to be a privilege allowed to no other 'muſician of the band. The cadences which 'his majeſty made were good, but very long 'and ſtudied. It is eaſy to diſcover, that theſe 'concertos were compoſed at a time, when he 'did not ſo frequently require an opportunity of 'breathing as at preſent; for in ſome of the 'diviſions, which were very long and difficult, 'as well as in the cloſes, he was obliged to take 'his breath, contrary to rule, before the paſſages 'were finiſhed [193].'—'Beſides the three hundred 'concertos which his majeſty plays, in turn, he 'has nearly as many ſolos, which he performs 'in the like rotation. Upwards of a hundred 'of theſe have been compoſed by himſelf, the 'reſt by M. Quantz [194].'

DR. BURNEY alſo gives an account of the king's public operas at Berlin. 'His Pruſſian 'majeſty's favourite operas,' ſays he, 'are thoſe 'of his late *maeſtro di capella*, CHARLES HENRY 'GRAUN, to which he is ſo much attached, as 'to hear unwillingly thoſe of any other per-'former; and the overtures and concertos for 'violins of his brother, the concert maſter, M. 'JOH. GOTTLIB GRAUN, but lately deceaſed, are 'ſtill in high reputation at Berlin, though not

[193] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 150—155, ſecond edit.

[194] Ibid. p. 161.

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'of the firſt claſs for taſte or invention[195].'

After giving an account of the chief ſingers of the ſerious opera at Berlin, at this period, Dr. Burney ſays, 'The king being at the whole 'expence of this opera, the entrance is *gratis*, 'ſo that any one, who is decently dreſſed, may 'have admiſſion into the pit. The firſt row of 'boxes is ſet apart for the royal family and no-'bility; the boxes that are even with the pit, 'and thoſe of the ſecond and third row, are ap-'propriated to the uſe of the miniſters of ſtate, 'foreign miniſters, and perſons of rank, who 'have offices about the court; and a ſtranger of 'diſtinction, by application to the baron Poll-'nitz, chamberlain, and director of public ſpec-'tacles, is ſure of being accommodated with a 'place in the theatre, according to his rank.

'THE performance of the opera begins at ſix 'o'clock. The king, with the princes, and his 'attendants, are placed in the pit, cloſe to the 'orcheſtra. The queen, the princeſſes, and 'other ladies of diſtinction, ſit in the front 'boxes. Her majeſty is ſaluted at her entrance 'into the theatre, and at her departure thence, 'by two bands of trumpets and kettle drums, 'placed on each ſide the houſe, in the upper 'row of boxes. The king always ſtands behind 'the *maeſtro di capella*, in ſight of the ſcore,

[195] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 98.

'which

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'which he frequently looks at, and indeed per-'forms the part of director-general here, as 'much as of generaliſſimo in the field [196].'

SPEAKING of the general and national ſtyle of muſical compoſition and performance in the Pruſſian dominions, Dr. Burney ſays, 'It ſeems 'at preſent to be formed ſo much upon one 'model, that it precludes all invention and 'genius.' He adds, 'Though the world is ever 'rolling on, moſt of the Berlin muſicians, de-'feating its motion, have long contrived to ſtand 'ſtill. Upon the whole, my expectations from 'Berlin were not quite anſwered; as I did not 'find that the ſtyle of compoſition, or manner 'of execution, to which his Pruſſian majeſty has 'attached himſelf, fulfilled my ideas of perfec-'tion. Here, as elſewhere, I ſpeak according 'to my own feelings. However, it would be 'preſumption in me to oppoſe my ſingle judg-'ment to that of ſo enlightened a monarch, if, 'luckily, mine were not the opinion of the 'greateſt part of Europe: for, ſhould it be 'allowed, that his Pruſſian majeſty has fixed 'upon the Auguſtan age of muſic, it does not 'appear that he has placed his favour upon the 'beſt compoſers of that age. VINCI, PERGO-'LESE, LEO, FEO, HANDEL, and many others, 'who flouriſhed in the beſt times of GRAUN and

[196] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 99, 100, 101. ut ſupra.

'QUANTZ,

QUANTZ, I think ſuperior to them in taſte and genius.

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OF his majeſty's two favourites, the one is languid, and the other frequently common and inſipid; and yet, their names are *religion* at Berlin, and more ſworn by than thoſe of Luther and Calvin. There are, however, ſchiſms in this city, as elſewhere; but hereticſ are obliged to keep their opinions to themſelves, while thoſe of the eſtabliſhment may ſpeak out: for though a univerſal toleration prevails here, as to different ſects of Chriſtians, yet, in muſic, whoever dares to profeſs any other tenets than thoſe of GRAUN and QUANTZ, is ſure to be perſecuted. Hence, the muſic of this country is more truly German, than that of any other part of the empire: for though there are conſtantly Italian operas here, in carniyal time, his Pruſſian majeſty will ſuffer none to be performed but thoſe of Graun, Agricola, or Haſſe, and of this laſt, and beſt, but very few. And, in the opera-houſe, as in the field, his majeſty is ſuch a rigid diſciplinarian, that if a miſtake is made in a ſingle movement or evolution, he immediately marks, and rebukes the offender; and if any of his Italian troops dare to deviate from ſtrict diſcipline, by adding, altering, or diminiſhing a ſingle paſſage in the parts they have to perform, an order is ſent, *de par le Roi*, for them to adhere ſtrictly to the notes written

by

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'by the compoſer, at their peril. This, when 'compoſitions are good, and a finger is licen- 'tious, may be an excellent method; but cer- 'tainly ſhuts out all taſte and refinement. So 'that muſic is truly ſtationary in this country, 'his majeſty allowing no more liberty in that, 'than he does in civil matters of government: 'not contented with being ſole monarch of the 'lives, fortunes, and buſineſs of his ſubjects, he 'even preſcribes rules to their moſt innocent 'pleaſures [197].

AT this period of Frederick's life, and probably for ſome years before, his mode of living ſeems to have been ſomewhat different, from what it had been previouſly to the commencement of his ſeven years war. He roſe regularly at four in the ſummer, and five in the winter, and attended buſineſs with his miniſters and ſecretaries, with the ſame exactneſs and uniformity as formerly; but he now allowed himſelf a longer time at dinner, and wholly omitted ſuppers. He now generally went to the parade only three times a week, when he exerciſed his guards; but he exerciſed the other regiments at different times; and, at certain ſtated times, had very ſplendid reviews, of all his troops, which were viſited by militaty men, and perſons of rank, from every part of Europe. On thoſe

[197] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 231—235.

day;

days when he was not employed with his troops, he was frequently to be ſeen riding through the ſtreets of Potſdam, attended only by a ſingle page, and an aid de camp [s]. In this manner he viſited the buildings, which were erecting by his order, and ſaw that every thing was properly executed. In fine weather, it was not an unuſual thing for him to make theſe viſits on foot. He afterwards returned to Sans-Souci, where he found his generals, and ſuch other perſons as he had invited to dine with him. With theſe he walked in the garden till near dinner-time; but, if the weather was bad, their walk was confined to the great gallery. He dined at twelve [t]; and it was generally after three

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[s] 'As the king has never any of the great officers of the crown about his perſon, their poſts are merely honorary. His treaſurer is an *heyduc*, who can neither read nor write, and who ſits upon the box with the coachman, when his majeſty travels; although his ſecretaries follow their maſter in a coach. This heyduc pays the expences of the kitchen, livery, ſtables, &c. and likewiſe executes the king's orders with regard to gratuities, and other diſburſements.'—'When the king travels on horſe-back, his whole ſuit conſiſts of a page, an equerry, and a groom, with a led horſe. This monarch has neither coach nor carriage at Sans-Souci, and never gets into a carriage, except in long journies.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 13, 29, 30.

[t] The author of the 'Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia,' written during his life-time, ſays, that Frederick's dinners, about this period, con-

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three before he quitted his company. When he roſe from table, he withdrew into another apartment, where coffee was ſerved up, and where he found ſuch perſons as he had previouſly ordered to attend him: for nobody came to Sans-Souci without his particular permiſſion, not even his miniſters, or any of the royal family; and

conſiſted 'of eight diſhes only, excluſively of the ſoup and 'bouilli, and only one diſh was ſerved up at a time.'—'Of 'the eight diſhes,' ſays he, 'four are in the French, and 'two in the Italian taſte: the other two are ſuited to the 'king's particular palate. They are all of them ſucculent, 'and extremely well cooked, each diſh being dreſſed by a 'diſtinct cook, who has a kitchen to himſelf, and a ſcullion 'to aſſiſt him; ſo that the king's table, though far from being 'ſumptuous, is very expenſive. The deſert conſiſts of three 'glaſſes of dried ſweetmeats, ſome plates of creams, bleau-'mange, and the like; and ſix of different ſorts of fruit, 'which are always the choiceſt and moſt delicious that can be 'procured; the king being a great epicure with regard to 'fruit: ſo that he has it ſent him from different parts of 'Europe, although his own gardens and hot-houſes produce 'him excellent fruit all the year round. His majeſty eats 'heartily, and a good while: he drinks a bottle of burgundy, 'a few glaſſes of champaign, and now and then, though 'rarely, a little cordial after the French manner. He conti-'nues at table till half paſt three, and converſes very good 'humouredly with his company during the deſert. None 'but generals, colonels, and a few other perſons, ſuited to 'the king's taſte, are admitted to theſe private parties. 'Strangers never dine with the king but when there is a 'court, which does not often happen, and indeed never at 'Sans-Souci, which is his majeſty's ordinary reſidence.' P. 9, 10.

the

the queen had always a ſeparate court [u]. Even foreign miniſters were obliged to apply to the king by letter, whenever they were deſirous of an audience; and ſo was every other perſon who wiſhed to ſpeak to him. When he was diſpoſed to ſee them, he anſwered their letters [x], and

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[u] Dr. Moore ſays, 'His majeſty very ſeldom appears 'at the queen's court, or at any place where women form 'part of the aſſembly.'—'I once ſaid to a lady of this court, 'that it was a pity his majeſty did not love women.' "Con-"ſidering his time of life," ſaid ſhe, "we could diſpenſe "with his love; but it is hard that he cannot endure us." View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 172, 173.

Dr. Zimmerman obſerves, that, at one period of his life, Frederick 'laid hold of every opportunity of declaring his 'delight in beautiful women. The portraits of charming 'female dancers are ſtill extant, with which, for this reaſon, 'he adorned his apartments.'—'He would alſo make people 'believe, that he lived in a very intimate connexion with 'the famous dancer Barberini. Once in a maſquerade at 'Berlin, he walked with her, unmaſked, arm in arm; and 'then retired with this beautiful Italian into a cloſet, where 'they only drank tea. This ſweet woman was the only one 'with whom Frederick the Great, when king, ſeemed to be 'in love.' Select Views, vol. I. p. 54, 57, 58.

[x] 'All buſineſs with the king,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'is 'tranſacted by letters. Every petition, or propoſal, muſt be 'made in this form, which is adhered to ſo invariably, as I 'have been aſſured, that if any of his generals wiſhed to pro-'mote a cadet to the rank of an enſign, he would not venture 'to make his propoſal in any other manner, even though he 'had daily opportunities of converſing with his majeſty.' View of Society and Manners, ut ſupra, p. 237.

named

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named the day and minute when they were to attend. When no anſwer was ſent, it was equivalent to a refuſal.

AT five in the afternoon, he retired to his cloſet, where he read and ſigned the letters which had been written by his ſecretaries, from the directions which he had given them in the morning. In theſe letters, he often made alterations and corrections with his own hand. At ſix he went to the muſic-apartment, in which his concerts were performed, and to which few perſons were admitted, excepting the generals who had apartments at Sans-Souci. His concerts ended at ſeven, after which he either read himſelf, or employed ſome of his attendants, or favourites, to read to him. During almoſt the whole of his life, and even to the cloſe of it, it was his cuſtom to read French tranſlations of the moſt celebrated Greek and Roman writers, particularly the hiſtorians. When he retired to his chamber, he was frequently attended by colonel Quintus Icilius [Y], with

[Y] Dr. Burney ſays, 'This officer's original name is 'GUISCHARD, and that of QUINTUS ICILIUS only his 'Nom de Guerre, given to him, in pleaſantry, by his majeſty, 'who, when he conferred upon him a command in a regi-'ment, haſtily raiſed and collected from the refuſe of all na-'tions, during the heat of the laſt war, honoured him with 'the appellation of the commander of Cæſar's tenth legion, a 'name which has ſince been adopted by the whole Pruſſian 'nation.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. ut ſupra, p. 143.

Colonel

with whom he converſed till he fell aſleep [z]. He had no guard in the day at Sans-Souci; but, at

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Colonel Quintus, or Guiſchard, was well ſkilled in the learned languages, and in ſeveral of the modern; but was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for his profound knowledge in the tactics of the antients.

[z] It appears, that it was the king's practice to ſettle every night in his chamber, before he went to ſleep, the bill of fare for the next day's dinner. The author of 'Obſervations on 'the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia,' who ſeems to have had very accurate information reſpecting Frederick's private life, after taking notice of his ſpending ſome time every evening in reading, ſays, 'After which he 'retires to his bed-chamber, where he finds colonel Quintus, 'with whom he converſes in a familiar manner. One of his 'cooks (for he had no clerk of the kitchen at Sans-Souci) 'then brings him in a bill of fare for the next day's dinner, 'with the price of each diſh marked in the margin. The 'king ſtrikes out what he does not like, and orders ſome-'thing elſe in its ſtead, exclaiming at the ſame time againſt 'the roguery of his domeſtics, but after all leaves the prices 'as he finds them. At the ſame time, he receives the account 'of his ſtables, and of the expences of his houſehold, kitchen, '&c. He puts them all by in order, and ſettles them once a 'month, when he makes no little noiſe if they happen to be 'more than uſual. But notwithſtanding all this diſturbance, 'he makes no deduction, but pays the whole of the bills. 'As ſoon as theſe domeſtic matters are ſettled, his majeſty 'undreſſes himſelf, gets into bed, and continues to joke with 'Quintus till he drops aſleep. The colonel then walks gently 'out of the room on tip-toe, ſhuts the door after him, and 'returns to Potſdam.' 'P. 12, 13.

The ſame writer has alſo related ſome farther particulars concerning the king and colonel Quintus. 'His Pruſſian

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at ſix in the evening, four men were ſent from Potſdam, with a corporal, who placed a centinel at

'majeſty,' ſays he, 'is much inclined to joke with the perſons he eſteems, but he ſometimes carries his pleaſantry 'rather too far. The moſt frequent objects of the king's wit 'is colonel Quintus. This ſometimes proves the ſource of 'little animoſities, which ſoon ſubſide again.'—'The colonel 'is a man of merit, and a good officer. He has publiſhed 'ſeveral military works in French, and, among others, in '1758, his Military Memoirs concerning the Greeks and 'Romans, in two volumes, quarto, with plans and figures. 'This valuable performance, after paſſing through three editions, has been ſeverely criticiſed in a late publication by 'count Loloos, a nobleman of great abilities in tactics; and 'colonel Quintus had the mortification to find himſelf obliged 'to defend himſelf, after having enjoyed a ten years triumph. 'The king's remark to him on this ſubject galled him more 'than any thing elſe. As this prince was riſing from table 'one day, Quintus requeſted his permiſſion to print a new 'work; "I grant it to you with all my heart," replied his 'majeſty, "but I would adviſe you to aſk the conſent of "count Loloos." Two days after this, the king contrived 'at dinner to turn the converſation on the commanders of his 'light troops in the laſt war; and obſerved at the ſame time, 'with much pleaſantry, that theſe troops had been headed 'only by cut-purſes.' "As for Quintus," added his majeſty, "he has found it difficult to leave off thoſe lucrative habits, "and for ſome years I was obliged to keep a good eye on my "purſe and my jewels when he was near me." The colonel, 'piqued at this obſervation, replied, "It is true, ſire, that I "have robbed in my time, but it was by your orders, and the "greateſt part of the booty fell to your ſhare." The king 'pretended not to hear this reply, and immediately turned the 'converſation to ſome other ſubject. Quintus, however,

at the door of the palace. This guard returned to Potſdam at four in the morning. CHAP. XXXV. A. D. 1777.

AMONG thoſe perſons, with whom Frederick converſed the moſt familiarly about this period, was the abbé Baſtiani, who had an apartment in the palace. He was an Italian by birth, and

'withdrew in a pet to Potſdam, and omitted to wait on the 'king in his bed-chamber, as he had been accuſtomed to do. 'The monarch, piqued in his turn at this ſtudied neglect, ſent 'him no invitation to dinner, and Quintus remained at Potſ- 'dam. Eight or ten days paſſed in this manner, and the 'breach was ſuppoſed to be irreparable, when the king began 'to relent, but at the ſame time was unwilling to ſeem to 'make the firſt overture for a reconciliation. He therefore 'diſpatched one of his equerries to Quintus, with orders to 'aſk the colonel how it happened, that in ten days he had not 'had time to give him an account of the new work he had 'put into his hands? Quintus, knowing he had received no 'ſuch commiſſion from his majeſty, ſent for anſwer that his 'majeſty muſt certainly be miſtaken. The king repeated the 'meſſage, and the colonel repaired to the bed-chamber, 'where his majeſty converſed with him about news, literature, '&c. without taking any notice of what had paſſed; and the 'next day he was invited to the king's table as uſual.' Obſervations, &c. p. 26—29.

Notwithſtanding the familiarity between the king and colonel Quintus, he is ſaid not to have been very liberal to him in his life-time; but, after the colonel's death, he preſented his widow with ſix thouſand rix-dollars, and gave her an annual penſion of four hundred rix-dollars. He alſo purchaſed her huſband's library for twelve thouſand rix-dollars, which was ſuppoſed to be much more than it was worth. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 61.

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poſſeſſed of ſo much wit, that the king was fond of his company. One day, after dinner, Frederick being in a gay humour, ſaid to Baſtiani, 'When you ſhall obtain the tiara, which your 'exemplary piety muſt one day procure you, 'how will you receive me, when I arrive at 'Rome to pay my duty to your holineſs?' 'I 'will immediately give orders,' replied the abbé, with great readineſs, '*Qu'on faſſe entrer l'aigle 'noir,—qu'il me couvre de ſes ailes, mais—qu'il 'm'épargne de ſon bec* [198].'

[198] Moore's View of Society and Manners, &c. ut ſupra, p. 239, 240.

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Conteſt between Frederick and the court of Vienna, concerning the ſucceſſion to the electorate of Bavaria.—Manifeſto publiſhed by him at Berlin on that ſubject.—His ſpeech to his general officers, previouſly to his ſetting out for Sileſia.—Peace of Teſchen.—The king writes a panegyric on Voltaire.—Caſe of the miller Arnold.—Frederick interferes in the affairs of Holland, in ſupport of the ſtadtholder.

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AT the cloſe of the year 1777, died Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria; and this event gave riſe to a new conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and the court of Vienna. The death of this prince, without iſſue, totally extinguiſhed the male Guillielmine, or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in poſſeſſion of that duchy for near five hundred years. Maximilian Joſeph was ſucceeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the elector palatine of the Rhine. At the time of his acceſſion to the Bavarian dominions, this prince was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having no iſſue, the large poſſeſſions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the duke of Deuxponts, who was the neareſt relation in the

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male palatine line. The electreſs-dowager of Saxony, as only ſiſter, and as the neareſt relation and heir of the late elector of Bavaria, alſo claimed a ſole right in the ſucceſſion to all the allodial eſtates in that duchy. The courſe of the ſucceſſion to Bavaria had been ſettled for ages, was univerſally known, and had even been prepared for by the late prince; the new elector, therefore, found no difficulty in taking poſſeſſion of that duchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new ſubjects. But he ſoon met with a very formidable claimant to a great part of his new dominions. He had ſcarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Auſtrian troops, who had been evidently ſtationed on the frontiers for that purpoſe, and had only waited for an account of the late elector's death, poured on all ſides into the Lower Bavaria, and ſeized on every place to which they came. In the mean time, another ſtrong body advanced on the ſide of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and the rights of ſovereignty, againſt the entrance of foreign troops [199].

A CLAIM had been ſet up, in behalf of the empreſs-queen, to a great part of the electorate of Bavaria; which was founded upon obſolete titles, of more than three hundred years ſtanding, and which appear to have been very ill grounded.

[199] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXI. p. 4, 5.

But

But the Auſtrian claim, however defective in reaſon or in juſtice, was ſupported by an army of ſixty thouſand men. The new elector, therefore, incapable of oppoſing ſo great a force, and unwilling to engage in a war in the decline of life, entered into a treaty with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen; and a convention was accordingly concluded and ratified, before the middle of January, 1778, between the court of Vienna and the elector, by which the latter, in order to keep part of his new poſſeſſions, gave up the better half of them, and left claims open, which might have ſwallowed a great part of the remainder[200]. This arrangement, however, naturally gave great umbrage to the duke of Deuxponts, who formally proteſted againſt the convention between the court of Vienna, and the new elector of Bavaria; and called upon the princes and ſtates that compoſe the diet of the empire, both in their original character, and as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, to interfere in the preſervation of his rights.

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At this period the king of Pruſſia thought proper to enter into the conteſt; and as he had no common intereſt, as in the caſe of the partition of Poland, to tolerate acts of injuſtice in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, he undertook the ſupport of the duke of Deuxponts, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body.

[200] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

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Several public acts and memorials were iſſued upon the occaſion by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and ſundry efforts were made to effectuate an amicable accommodation. But the court of Vienna behaved with much haughtineſs, and theſe efforts were not ſucceſsful. At length, on the ſeventh of July, 1778, Frederick publiſhed a manifeſto at Berlin, which contained the following paſſages: 'His majeſty the king of Pruſſia 'was in hopes, ever ſince the treaty of peace of 'Hubertſbourg, to live in conſtant harmony 'with the court of Vienna, and with that view 'his majeſty has employed all poſſible means to 'cultivate the friendſhip and affection of their 'imperial and royal majeſties the emperor, and 'the empreſs-queen of Hungary. It is, there-'fore, with the greateſt grief and concern, that 'his majeſty finds this good harmony diſturbed, 'by the unexpected diſmemberment of the elec-'torate of Bavaria, undertaken by the court of 'Vienna, after the death of the late elector of 'that country. His majeſty could not avoid 'immediately conſidering theſe proceedings as 'not only directly oppoſite to all juſtice, and 'the known rights of the neareſt heirs to the 'dominions and allodials of Bavaria; but alſo as 'contrary to the ſafety, liberty [A], laws, and con-

[A] In the public memorials and manifeſtoes of the German princes, and particularly in thoſe of the late king of Pruſſia, much

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'conſtitution of the German empire; and, there-
'fore, cauſed ſeveral well-grounded, friendly,
'and repeated repreſentations to be made to
'their imperial majeſties, in order to engage
'them to deſiſt from their undertaking.' After
ſtating how ineffectual theſe negociations with
the court of Vienna had proved, and pointing
out the injuſtice of the Auſtrian claims, he ob-
ſerves, that he thought himſelf in duty bound, as
a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and as
an elector and prince of the empire, to oppoſe
the diſmemberment of one of the moſt conſider-
able electorates of Germany, and to aſſiſt, with
all poſſible zeal, the parties thereby oppreſſed.
He adds, 'His majeſty declares, that his ſole
'object in this meaſure is to ſupport the laws
'and conſtitution of the German empire, which
'have been injured in the moſt arbitrary manner
'by the very prince, who, from his quality as
'chief of the empire, ought to have been their
'moſt ſtrenuous protector; to aſſiſt thoſe princes,
'his friends and allies, who are thereby injured

much was often ſaid concerning the preſervation of the liberties of the Germanic body. But it muſt be remembered, that, when this phraſe was made uſe of, the liberties of the great body of the common people of Germany, were in no reſpect the object of conſideration. The preſervation of the liberties of Germany means, the preſervation of the rights and privileges of the ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire, in oppoſition to the power and prerogative of the emperor.

'and

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'and oppreſſed; and that he has no other parti-
'cular views therein, than his own ſecurity, and
'the maintenance of the ſyſtem of the em-
'pire[201].'

BEFORE the publication of this manifeſto, the king of Pruſſia had made great military preparations; and after a review, in the ſame month, of that part of his army, which lay in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and which was then, as well as himſelf, on the point of ſetting out for Sileſia, he made the following ſpeech to all the general officers preſent, among whom were his brothers Henry and Ferdinand, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick:

Gentlemen,

'Moſt of us have ſerved together from our
'earlieſt days, and are grown grey in the ſervice
'of our country. We, conſequently, know each
'other perfectly well. We have borne our ſhare
'in the fatigues and dangers of war; and I make
'no doubt but that you are as unwilling to ſhed
'blood as I am. But the dangers, which now
'threaten our country, not only render it a duty,
'but put us under an indiſpenſable neceſſity, to
'employ the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious mea-
'ſures, to diſpel the ſtorm which now ſeems
'ready to break over our heads. To effectuate

[201] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 308—311.

'theſe

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'these important purposes, I rely upon that zeal 'for my service, and that attachment to my per- 'son, which you have always expressed, and 'which I never yet failed to experience at your 'hands: and you may rest assured, gentlemen, 'that I shall ever acknowledge, with an heart- 'felt satisfaction, the services that I am sure 'you will render to your king and country! 'But let me intreat you never to lose sight of 'humanity, even when your enemies are in your 'power; and to cause the most exact discipline 'to be observed by the troops under your com- 'mand. As to my own part, I wish not to 'travel like a king; rich and gaudy equipages 'have no charms for me; but, infirm as I now 'am, I cannot travel as I formerly did, when in 'the vigour of youth. I shall be obliged to use 'a post-chaise. I leave you at liberty to do the 'same: but, in the day of battle, you shall see 'me on horse-back; and I hope that my generals 'will not fail, in that, to imitate their king[202].'

THE Austrian army was commanded by the emperor in person; and it is said, that when Frederick set off from Berlin, he sent the following short note to one of his principal ministers

[202] Annual Register, vol. XXI. p. 21, 177. Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Prussia, p. 222, 223, 224.

of

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of ſtate: 'You will find money enough in the 'treaſury for the public ſupplies. I truſt in 'God, that I ſhall not be long abſent, as I am 'only gone on a ſmall excurſion, in order to 'teach a young gentleman in the neighbourhood 'his military exerciſe [203].' The campaign, however, was extended to a greater length than the king expected; for though the emperor had not himſelf had much experience in the art of war, he was aſſiſted by general Laudohn, and other very able generals, and had a moſt formidable army under his command. The Pruſſian army was alſo very numerous, and both armies were furniſhed with a great and unuſual quantity of artillery. Before the Pruſſian troops had quitted their own country, the king ordered a preſent of money to all the officers, riſing in due proportions from the enſigns to the generals, as an aſſiſtance towards their camp-equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field; and the ſoldiers were alſo gratified by an augmentation of one fourth, both in their pay and proviſions, from the commencement of actual ſervice [204].

THE king of Pruſſia having paſſed through Sileſia, then penetrated the mountains of Bohe-

[203] Ibid. p. 171.

[204] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 21.

mia,

mia, and having seized the city, castle, and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without opposition, he fixed his head-quarters there in the month of July, whilst he waited for the arrival, and made roads across the mountains to facilitate the passage, of his heavy artillery and stores. In the mean time, the emperor had taken an advantageous post at Koningsgratz, where his army was very strongly encamped. Several subsequent movements were made by these great armies; but no action took place of any consequence. A negociation was set on foot, during which sundry letters passed between the emperor and the king of Prussia. But this negociation was broken off; and the empress-queen then sent the following letter, privately, by the baron Thugut, to the Prussian monarch:

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'Sir, Brother, and Cousin,

'From the recall of baron Riedesel, and the 'entrance of your majesty's troops into Bohemia, 'I behold, with extreme sensibility, a new war 'broken out. My age, and the desire I have to 'preserve peace, are known to all the world; 'and of which I cannot give a more satisfactory 'proof than by the step that I have now taken. 'My maternal heart is justly alarmed at the 'consideration, that two of my sons, and a be-'loved son-in-law, are in the army. I now

'write

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'write without having acquainted the emperor 'my ſon; and I requeſt that your majeſty will 'ſuffer the affair to remain wholly a ſecret, be 'its ſucceſs what it may. My wiſhes tend to re-'new and to terminate the negociation thus far 'conducted by his majeſty the emperor, and 'now broken off to my very great regret. This 'letter will be delivered into your own hands by 'the baron Thugut, who is furniſhed with in-'ſtructions and with full powers. Ardently 'wiſhing that our hopes may be accompliſhed, 'agreeably to our dignity, and to our mutual 'ſatisfaction, I entreat your majeſty to reply 'with ſimilar ſentiments to the ſtrong deſire 'which I have, that our good underſtanding 'ſhould be for ever re-eſtabliſhed, for the benefit 'of the human race, and likewiſe of our families. 'I remain

'Your majeſty's good ſiſter and couſin,

MARIA THERESA[203].

To this letter the king of Pruſſia returned the following anſwer:

'Madam and ſiſter, July 17, 1778.

'Monſ. Thugut has preſented to me the letter, 'with which he was charged by your imperial 'and royal majeſty. No perſon here knows him,

[203] Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 316, 317.

'nor

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'nor ſhall any one be informed that he has been here. It was worthy of the character of your imperial and royal majeſty, to give marks of magnanimity and of moderation in a litigious affair, after having maintained the ſucceſſion of your anceſtors with heroic fortitude. The tender attachment, which your imperial majeſty teſtifies for the emperor, your ſon, and for princes of ſo much merit, muſt procure you the applauſe of all feeling hearts; and this, if poſſible, increaſes the high conſideration in which I hold your ſacred perſon. Baron Thugut has minuted down ſome points, to ſerve as a baſis for a ſuſpenſion of arms. I have been obliged to add ſome articles, part of which were before agreed upon, and others which I imagine will meet with no difficulty. In the mean time, madam, your imperial majeſty ſhall have nothing to fear for the blood-royal, or for the ſafety of an emperor whom I love, and whom I reſpect, though he holds different principles from me with regard to the affairs of Germany. Monſ. Thugut is immediately to ſet out for Vienna; and I believe that in ſix or ſeven days he may return. I ſhall, in the mean while, ſend for ſuch miniſters as are neceſſary to conclude the negociation, ſhould your imperial and royal majeſty agree to ſome neceſſary articles, which I have added, in order that the preliminaries may be

'ſigned.

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'ſigned. I am, with the higheſt conſidera-
'tion,

'Madam and ſiſter,

'Your imperial and royal majeſty's

'Good brother and couſin,

'FREDERICK [205].'

OTHER letters paſſed between the king of Pruſſia and the empreſs; but this negociation did not immediately produce a peace, the emperor being extremely averſe to it [B]. At length, however, the treaty of Teſchen was concluded, on the thirteenth of May, 1779. By that treaty it was agreed, that the court of Vienna ſhould renounce its pretenſions to Bavaria, retaining only the diſtrict of Burghauſen; that ſix

[205] Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 320, 321, 322.

[B] Frederick ſays, 'The emperor, being informed of 'the negociation of M. Thugut, was enraged at the intelli-'gence. He wrote to his mother, that if ſhe were deter-'mined to make peace, he would never return to Vienna, 'but would eſtabliſh himſelf at Aix la Chapelle, or in any 'other place, be it where it might, rather than again approach 'her perſon. The empreſs had ſent for the grand duke of 'Tuſcany, whom ſhe immediately diſpatched to the army, 'that he might appeaſe the emperor his brother, and inſpire 'him with more pacific ſentiments. The effect of this inter-'view was a quarrel between the two brothers, who had be-'fore lived on very good terms.' Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 249.

millions

millions of florins ſhould be paid to the elector of Saxony as an equivalent; and that a recognition ſhould be made of the right of the houſe of Brandenburgh to re-unite the margraviates of Franconia to their electoral dominions, after the extinction of the reigning family[207]. By this treaty the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was alſo totally annulled, and ſatisfaction was agreed to be made to the duke of Deuxponts. CHAP. XXXVI.

DURING the courſe of this ſhort war, the king had at one time his head-quarters at Frankenſtein, in Upper Sileſia. He lodged in the houſe of a widow, far advanced in years, who, on his arrival, ſhewed him into her beſt apartment, in which were portraits of her ſix ſons, who had all fallen in battle, and in the king's ſervice. Frederick ſeemed to view theſe pictures with ſome emotion; and fixing his attention more particularly upon one of them, he ſaid, 'Had this brave officer lived, he would now 'have been one of my generals.' He then inquired into the circumſtances of the family, and hearing that the lady had ſtill two daughters unprovided for, he made her a preſent of ſix thouſand ducats[208].

[207] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 27.

[208] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 169, 150.

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In the year 1778, VOLTAIRE died at Paris; and the king of Prussia thereupon wrote a panegyric on this celebrated man, which was read at an extraordinary meeting of the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, on the twenty-sixth of November in that year. In this piece, the royal author makes the following observations: 'It has ever been the custom of wise and polished nations, to respect men of an uncommon and elevated genius while alive, and to distinguish them after death by peculiar honours. The lustre of extraordinary abilities reflects glory on the countries which produce them. The first legislators, who taught mankind to live in society; the first heroes, who defended their fellow citizens; the philosophers, who, penetrating the depths of nature, laid open the sources of truth; the poets, who transmitted the splendid actions of their contemporaries to future ages: all these have ever been regarded as beings superior to the human species, and distinguished by the peculiar favour of the gods. Hence the altars erected to Socrates, the deification of Hercules, the honours conferred on Orpheus by the united voice of Greece, and the long contested dispute among the seven cities which claimed the birth of Homer. The Athenian people, whose education was peculiarly refined, retained the whole Iliad in their memories, and celebrated,

with

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'with tranſports of pleaſure, the glory of their 'antient heroes, preſerved in that immortal 'poem. The talents of Sophocles, who carried 'off the palm of tragedy, were likewiſe highly 'reſpected; and he was inveſted with the moſt 'honourable employments that his countrymen 'had it in their power to confer. It is well 'known how much Æſchines, Pericles, and 'Demoſthenes were eſteemed.'—'The works of 'Xenophon and Thucydides were admired even 'by the vulgar; and the meaneſt citizen ſeemed 'to ſhare the renown of thoſe elevated geniuſſes, 'who raiſed the name of GREECE above that of 'every country in the univerſe.

'ROME, ſoon after, furniſhed a ſimilar ſpec-'tacle to the world. The philoſophy and elo-'quence of Cicero raiſed him to the higheſt ho-'nours. The ſhort life of Lucretius prevented 'him from enjoying his riſing fame; but Virgil 'and Horace obtained the ſuffrage of imperial 'Rome, were admitted to the familiarity of 'Auguſtus, and ſhared the rewards which that 'artful tyrant laviſhed on thoſe who concealed 'his vices, by celebrating the glory and felicity 'of his reign.'—'Such is the reſpect which all 'ages have paid to thoſe happy geniuſſes, who 'ſeem to ennoble the human ſpecies, and whoſe 'writings conſole us for the miſeries of human 'life! It is reaſonable, then, that we ſhould pay 'to the manes of that great man, whoſe loſs is

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'deplored by Europe, the tribute of admiration 'and panegyric to which his merit has ſo juſtly 'entitled him [209].'

FREDERICK afterwards proceeds to take a view of VOLTAIRE's life and writings. After mentioning his being confined in his youth in the Baſtile, he ſays, 'The unworthy and oppro-'brious treatment, which he ſuffered in his na-'tive country, excited his indignation; and, 'ſoon after his releaſe from the Baſtile, he took 'refuge in England, where he was received moſt 'favourably by the public, and where his diſtin-'guiſhed merit ſoon gained him many admirers. 'At London he finiſhed the Henriade, which he 'publiſhed in that city, under the title of the 'Poem of the League. VOLTAIRE, who knew 'how to make the moſt of every ſituation, prin-'cipally applied himſelf, during his reſidence in 'London, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. The 'moſt judicious and profound philoſophers then 'flouriſhed in England. VOLTAIRE got hold of 'the thread, which had conducted the circum-'ſpect LOCKE in the labyrinth of metaphyſics. 'He reſtrained the impetuoſity of his fancy, and 'ſubjected it to the laborious calculations of the 'immortal NEWTON. He made the diſcoveries 'of that great philoſopher his own, and explained

[209] The Panegyric of Voltaire, written by the King of Pruſſia, and tranſlated from the French, 8vo. Lond. 1779, p. 5—10.

'his

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'his ſyſtem with ſuch elegant ſimplicity, as 'made it univerſally underſtood. Before this 'time M. de Fontenelle was the only philoſo-'pher who had ſcattered flowers on the dryneſs 'of aſtronomy, and rendered this ſcience fit to 'amuſe the leiſure of the fair-ſex. The Engliſh 'were flattered with finding a Frenchman, who, 'not ſatisfied with admiring the works of their 'philoſophers, tranſlated them into his own 'tongue. The moſt illuſtrious characters in 'London were fond of his ſociety; never did 'any ſtranger meet with ſuch diſtinguiſhed 'favours; yet theſe, how flattering ſoever to his 'ſelf-love, could not extinguiſh the love of his 'country, which carried him back into France. 'The Pariſians, enlightened by the ideas which 'ſo learned and profound a nation entertained 'of our young author, began to ſuſpect that 'their city had produced a great man. Then 'appeared his Letters on the Engliſh Nation; a 'work in which the author deſcribes, with bold 'and rapid ſtrokes, the manners, the arts, the 'religion, and the government of that people. 'The tragedy of Brutus, fitted to pleaſe a nation 'of freemen, followed ſoon after, as well as that 'of Mariamne, and a number of other pieces [210].'

THE king afterwards mentions the death of madame du Chatelet, and Voltaire's invitation

[210] Panegyric of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 14—17.

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to the court of Berlin; but paſſes very ſlightly over the cauſes of his quitting the Pruſſian dominions. He obſerves, that while Voltaire 'was 'yet employing every effort of his reaſon to 'check the violence of his grief, he was called 'to the court of Pruſſia. The king, who had 'ſeen him in the year 1740, wiſhed to have in 'his dominions a man of ſo uncommon and ſo 'exalted a genius. In 1752, he appeared at 'Berlin. His converſation was as agreeable 'as it was inſtructive. His knowledge was 'immenſe; his imagination equally brilliant 'and fertile; and his wit always ready. He 'embelliſhed every ſubject by the graces of 'his fancy; and was, in one word, the delight 'of every ſociety. An unfortunate quarrel, 'which aroſe between him and M. de Mauper-'tuis, divided two learned men, who were made 'to love, and not to hate one another; and the 'war, which broke out in 1756, made him take 'the reſolution of fixing his reſidence in Swit-'zerland. He viſited Geneva, and afterwards 'Lauſanne, and at length acquired the delicious 'diſtrict of Ferney, where he eſtabliſhed his 'abode[211].'

AFTER entering into a diſtinct enumeration of many of Voltaire's pieces, and ſpeaking of his various and extenſive abilities, Frederick ſays, 'Such a diverſity of talents, and ſuch a variety

[211] Ibid. p. 21, 22.

'of

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'of knowledge, united in the ſame man, affect 'the readers with ſurprize, mixed with admira-'tion. Call to remembrance, gentlemen, the 'lives of the great men of antiquity, whoſe 'names are handed down to later ages. You 'will find, that each of them confined his talents 'to one particular art. Ariſtotle and Plato were 'philoſophers; Æſchines and Demoſthenes, ora-'tors; Homer, an epic poet; Sophocles wrote 'tragedies; Anacreon, ſongs; Thucydides and 'Xenophon, hiſtories. In the ſame manner, 'among the Romans, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, 'Lucretius, were poets; Livy and Varro, hiſto-'rians; Craſſus, and the elder Anthony, attended 'only to their pleadings. CICERO, that eloquent 'conſul, the guardian and father of his country, 'is the only Roman who poſſeſſed the whole 'compaſs of literary attainments. He joined 'to that commanding eloquence, which rendered 'him ſuperior to all his contemporaries, a deep 'knowledge of the philoſophy ſtudied in antient 'times; as is evident from his Tuſculan Queſ-'tions, his admirable Treatiſe on the Nature of 'the Gods, and Books of Offices, which con-'tain, perhaps, the beſt ſyſtem of morality 'which we have ſeen to this day. CICERO was 'likewiſe a poet. He tranſlated, into Latin, 'the verſes of Aratus; and it is believed, that 'his corrections much improved the philoſophi-'cal poem of Lucretius. It is neceſſary, there-

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'fore, to run over ſeventeen centuries, before we 'can find, in that immenſe multitude which 'compoſes the human ſpecies, a ſingle man fit 'to be compared with our Author. It may be 'ſaid, if I may be allowed ſo to expreſs myſelf, 'that VOLTAIRE alone was equal to a whole 'Academy. In ſome of his writings we recog-'nize Bayle, armed with all the arguments of 'logic: in others we ſeem to read Thucydides. 'Here he is a philoſopher, prying into the 'ſecrets of nature; there a metaphyſician, ſup-'ported by analogy and experience, following, 'with meaſured ſteps, the wary track of Locke. 'In other performances you find the rival of 'Sophocles: there he aſſumes the comic maſk; 'but the elevation of his genius can hardly de-'ſcend to an equality with Terence and Moliere. 'Soon you ſee him mount on fiery Pegaſus, 'who, extending his wings, carries him to the 'top of Helicon, where the god of the Muſes 'adjudges him his place between Homer and 'Virgil[212].'

IT is certain, that the king of Pruſſia was extremely partial to Voltaire; but it is equally certain, that this moſt ſingular man poſſeſſed very extraordinary abilities. Perhaps no other author ever acquired, in his own time, ſuch great and general celebrity. The univerſality

[212] Panegyric of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 38—41.

of

of his talents excited aſtoniſhment; and the keenneſs of his wit, the fertility of his genius, and the variety of his productions, continually excited the attention of the literary world, throughout every part of Europe. In early youth he appears to have been prejudiced againſt revealed religion [c]; and there is no reaſon to believe, CHAP. XXXVI.

[c] Very early pains appear to have been taken, to infuſe into the mind of Voltaire a diſlike to revealed religion. We are informed by the marquis de Villette, that the abbé de Châteauneuf was Voltaire's god-father, and his firſt inſtructor. This nobleman alſo ſays, that Ninon de l'Enclos one day aſked the abbé de Châteauneuf after his god-ſon; 'My dear 'friend,' replied the abbé, 'he has been twice chriſtened; 'but you would not believe it; for, though he is only three 'years old, he knows all the Moïſade by heart.' The Moïſade was a poem intended to ſhew, that the Moſaic diſpenſation had no divine origin. It appears, that Voltaire was twice baptized. He was baptized as ſoon as he was born, becauſe it was not expected that he would live; and was afterwards baptized again by another prieſt, who was not acquainted with what had been done before. At his birth, we are told, he ſcarcely breathed. 'He was left to the care of a nurſe, 'who, during many months, came down every morning to 'the mother, to acquaint her, that the child was at the point 'of death; and, for a long time, they had no hopes of pre-'ſerving its life. Two perſons intereſted themſelves very 'much in this child's welfare. One was monſieur de Roche-'brûne, of an antient and noble family of le Haute-Auvergne; 'the other was the abbé de Châteauneuf, a very well in-'formed man, of a lively diſpoſition, and very agreeable 'turn of mind. His behaviour was that of a man, who ſub-'jects himſelf to no reſtraint but that of decorum. He was

'the

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believe, that, at any period of his life, he ever examined its evidences with any degree of accuracy or candour. In his own writings, he gave himſelf little concern about the fairneſs of his reaſonings, or the accuracy of his citations; and he often treated the moſt intereſting and important ſubjects with a very indecent and cenſurable levity. He appeared to have an extreme ſolicitude, to propagate thoſe principles of ſcepticiſm and infidelity, by which no man, as an individual, is made happier or better; which are injurious to the intereſts of ſociety in general; and which are equally unfavourable to the dignity, and to the felicity of human beings. But whatever the demerit of VOLTAIRE in other reſpects might be, he was undoubtedly entitled to great commendation, for the zeal with which he conſtantly defended the great principles of religious toleration. As his writings were read, with avidity, throughout every part of Europe, they appear in this view to have been productive of very important and beneficial effects. He had alſo great merit in expoſing the haſty, erroneous, and unjuſt deciſions, which too frequently took place in the French courts of judicature; in ſundry inſtances he nobly diſtinguiſhed himſelf

' ſhe friend of Chanlieu, and of the princes de Vendome and ' de Conti. He lived in intimacy with Ninon de l'Enclos, ' and was the laſt perſon ſhe loved.' Life of Voltaire, tranſlated by Mr. Monke, p. 11.

as

as the defender of oppreſſed innocence; and he exhibited, on various occaſions, great humanity and generoſity [D]. CHAP. XXXVI.

But

[D] FRANCIS MARIA AROUET DE VOLTAIRE was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1694. His father, Francis Arouet, was a reſpectable notary, and treaſurer to the chamber of accounts at Paris. He was a man of letters, and his houſe was much frequented by literary men. Voltaire gave ſuch early indications of an uncommon genius, and of literary talents, that he was ſaid to have made verſes almoſt in his cradle. At ten years of age, he was ſent to the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, which was under the direction of the Jeſuits. His academical exerciſes were greatly admired; and the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos left him, by will, 2000 livres, to purchaſe books. On his leaving college, he was preſſed by his father to engage in ſome profeſſion. 'I chooſe 'no other,' ſaid Voltaire, 'than that of a man of letters.' With this anſwer his father was not pleaſed, and he ſent him for ſome time to ſtudy the law; but he could not be prevailed upon to engage in that profeſſion. His propenſity to ſatire was frequently manifeſted even in his youth, and when he was about twenty years of age, he was impriſoned in the Baſtile, on ſuſpicion of having written a poem againſt the government. When he had been confined almoſt a year, he was ſet at liberty; and afterwards waited upon the duke of Orleans, then regent of France, in compliance with the ſervile cuſtom of that period, to return thanks for his deliverance. On that occaſion the duke ſaid to him, 'Be wiſe, and 'I will take care of you.' 'I am infinitely obliged to your 'royal highneſs,' replied Voltaire; 'but I beſeech you not 'to trouble yourſelf, in future, about my board or lodging.'

He afterwards publiſhed ſeveral pieces at Paris; and he went to England in the year 1725, where he was well received, and continued about three years. He publiſhed his

HENRIADE

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But to return to the king of Pruſſia. At the cloſe of the year 1779, an account was publiſhed, under

HENRIADE at London, by ſubſcription, in the year 1726; and the ſubſcription is ſaid to have produced him more than ſix thouſand pounds. On his return to France, he placed the money, which he carried with him from England, in a lottery, eſtabliſhed by M. Desfortes, comptroller-general of the finances, by which he was a great gainer; and this laid the foundation of that fortune, which afterwards enabled him to live with ſo much ſplendour at Ferney.

His tragedy of BRUTUS was exhibited at Paris in 1730, but did not meet with a very favourable reception. The king of Pruſſia obſerves, that 'it was thought that BRUTUS was 'more adapted to the theatre of London, than to that of 'Paris, becauſe a father, who ſhould condemn his ſon to 'death in cold blood, would, in France, be regarded as a 'barbarian; but, in England, a conſul ſacrificing his own 'blood to the liberty of his country, is conſidered as a God.' He alſo publiſhed his HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. his tragedy of ZARA, which was received with great applauſe, and his LETTRES PHILOSOPHIQUES. But a decree of the parliament of Paris having been iſſued againſt the latter, he thought proper to quit the capital, and reſided for ſome years at the country ſeat of madame du Chatelet. In that retirement he compoſed his ESSAY ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY, his ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWTON, and ſeveral of his dramatic pieces. Soon after the death of madame du Chatelet, he repaired to the court of Berlin, and of that period of his hiſtory ſome account has been already given.

After he had quitted the Pruſſian court, he reſided for many years at Ferney; and, during that period, he publiſhed his AGE OF LEWIS XIV. and a great number of other pieces. In the laſt year of his life he went again to Paris, where he was ſo much viſited, and ſo much courted and careſſed, that the

under Frederick's own direction, of the caſe of the miller Arnold; an affair which excited much attention, and which was much canvaſſed, throughout the Pruſſian dominions. The caſe of this man was ſtated in the following terms: CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1779.

'One John Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought 'the leaſe of a mill belonging to the eſtate of 'count Schmettau, of Pommertzig, ſituated in 'the New Marche of Brandenburgh, near the 'city of Cuſtrin, and known in that province 'under the name of the Pommertziger Kerb's 'Mill. This mill, at the time when Arnold 'bought the leaſe of it, was plentifully ſupplied 'with water, by a river which empties itſelf

the change in his mode of living appears to have haſtened his death. He died at Paris on the thirteenth of May, 1778, and was interred at Selliéres, a Benedictine abbey between Nogent and Troyes. The king of Pruſſia remarks, that 'Although 'M. de Voltaire was naturally of a delicate conſtitution, and 'grief, anxiety, and intenſe application, had greatly weak-'ened his health, he reached his eighty-fourth year. In his 'exiſtence, mind prevailed in every thing over matter. It 'was a ſtrong ſoul, which communicated its vigour to a body 'almoſt tranſparent.'

Voltaire died rich; for he appears to have been always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money. He ſeems to have made large ſums by his writings, and he ſometimes engaged in commercial projects. He had a ſhare in a rich mercantile houſe at Cadiz, and other commercial connexions; and had once part of a contract for furniſhing the French army with proviſions, by which he is ſaid to have gained nearly thirty thouſand pounds.

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'into the river Warta. During ſix years Arnold 'had made various improvements in the ſaid 'mill; and, by means of his labour and induſtry, 'had been enabled to pay his rent regularly, and 'to acquire a ſufficiency for the maintenance of 'his family. At the end of that period, the 'proprietor of the ſaid mill reſolved to enlarge 'a fiſh-pond, contiguous to his ſeat, and cauſed 'a canal to be cut from the ſaid rivulet, at a 'ſmall diſtance above the mill, to ſupply his 'fiſh-pond with water. By theſe means the 'current of the ſtream was leſſened, and the 'quantity of water ſo much diminiſhed, that the 'mill could no longer do the uſual work. The 'miller had foreſeen the event, and from the 'beginning had remonſtrated againſt the cutting 'off the canal. But his remonſtrances, as well 'as his ſolicitations for cancelling the leaſe, 'proving in vain, he was at laſt forced to ſeek 'redreſs in a court of judicature at Cuſtrin, to 'whoſe cognizance the affair belonged; but his 'lord, being a man of fortune and conſequence 'in that province, ſoon found means to fruſtrate 'his endeavours. He continued to enlarge his 'fiſh-pond, ſo that the miller, inſtead of ob- 'taining redreſs, found his water daily decreaſing 'to ſuch a degree, that at laſt he could only 'work during two or three weeks in the ſpring, 'and about as many in the latter part of the 'year. Under theſe circumſtances, the miller

'could

'could no longer procure his livelihood, and 'pay his rent,' and conſequently became in- 'debted to his lord for a conſiderable ſum. The 'latter, in order to obtain his rent, entered a 'ſuit againſt him in the ſame court of law at 'Cuſtrin, which had before refuſed relief to the 'miller, and ſoon obtained a ſentence againſt 'the miller's effects; which ſentence, being ap- 'proved of and ratified in the high court of 'appeals at Berlin, was put in execution. The 'miller's leaſe, utenſils, goods, and chattels, 'were ſeized and ſold, in order to pay the arrears 'of his rent, and the expences of a moſt iniqui- 'tous law-ſuit; and thus poor Arnold, and his 'family, were reduced to want and wretched- 'neſs[213].'

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IN the account publiſhed of this caſe by the king's direction, it was alſo ſtated, that his majeſty having been informed of the injuſtice that had been committed againſt Arnold, and having ſtrictly examined into the truth of the caſe, and afterwards ſummoned the chancellor and judges before him, had made the following declaration: 'The ſentence decreed againſt the miller Arnold, 'of the Pommertziger Kerb's mill, in the New 'Marche of Brandenburgh, being an act of the 'moſt ſingular injuſtice, and entirely oppoſite 'to the paternal intentions of his majeſty, whoſe

[213] New Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 2, 3.

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'deſire it is that impartial juſtice be ſpeedily 'adminiſtered to all his ſubjects, whether rich 'or poor, without any regard to their rank or 'perſons; his majeſty, in order to prevent ſimi-'lar iniquities for the future, is reſolved to 'puniſh, in an exemplary manner, the authors 'of that unjuſt ſentence, and to eſtabliſh an 'example for the future conduct of judges and 'magiſtrates in his dominions. For they are all 'to conſider, that the meaneſt peaſant, nay even 'the beggar, is a man as well as the king, and 'conſequently equally entitled to impartial juſ-'tice, eſpecially, as in the preſence of juſtice all 'are equal, whether it be a prince who brings 'a complaint againſt a peaſant, or a peaſant 'who prefers one againſt a prince. In ſimilar 'caſes, juſtice ſhould act uniformly, without any 'retroſpect to rank or perſon. This ought to 'be a univerſal rule for the conduct of judges: 'and if the courts of law in his majeſty's domi-'nions ſhould ever deviate from this principle 'of equity, they may depend upon being ſeverely 'puniſhed. For an unjuſt magiſtrate, or a court 'of law, guilty of wrong, and ſubſervient to 'oppreſſion, are more dangerous than a band of 'robbers; againſt whom any man may be upon 'his guard. But bad men, entruſted with 'authority, who, under the cloak of juſtice, 'practiſe their iniquities, are not ſo eaſily 'guarded againſt. They are the worſt of villains,

'and

'and deſerve double puniſhment.'—'The king, CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1779. 'at the ſame time, hereby ſignifies to all his 'courts of law, that he has appointed a new 'high chancellor, and that his majeſty will be 'very exact for the future, in the examination 'of his, and of their proceedings. They are, 'moreover, hereby ſtrictly commanded, I. To 'bring all law-ſuits to the ſpeedieſt concluſion. 'II. Carefully to obſerve, that the ſacred name 'of juſtice may never be profaned by any acts 'of oppreſſion and injuſtice. And III. To act 'with the moſt abſolute impartiality towards 'every one, whether prince or peaſant, without 'the leaſt regard to ſituation in life. And in 'caſe his majeſty ſhould find their proceedings 'any ways contrary to the above orders, they 'may depend upon a rigorous puniſhment; as 'well the preſident, as the reſpective judges and 'counſellors, who ſhall be found guilty of, or 'acceſſary to, any ſentence directly oppoſite to 'the fundamental principles of juſtice. Whereof 'all the courts of law, in all his majeſty's domi-'nions, are to take notice[214].' This declaration, ſome parts of which are truly excellent, was ſigned by the king himſelf, and dated at Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

As Frederick's deciſion in favour of Arnold, and his declaration reſpecting his judges and

[214] New Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 4.

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courts of law, were publiſhed not only in the Pruſſian dominions, but in other parts of Europe, they occaſioned his zeal for juſtice, and the ſteps that he had taken to promote it, to be ſpoken of, in foreign countries, in terms of very high commendation. But, in the Pruſſian dominions, his conduct was cenſured from the beginning: for when the affair came to be truly and properly ſtated, it appeared, that the miller's caſe had been totally miſrepreſented, and that the king himſelf had been guilty of a great act of injuſtice, and treated his chancellor and judges in a moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive manner. It appeared, that Arnold was a man of but indifferent character, and that no proceedings had been carried on againſt him but what were ſtrictly regular and legal. The impediments which he had ſtated, as preventing him from making the uſual profits by his mill, did not in reality exiſt. It was proved, that the fiſh-ponds, of which he complained, had not been made by his landlord, and were not claimed by him; that they were the property of another gentleman, who had an undoubted right to the uſe of the water of the rivulet for the ſupply of his ponds, by a deed of more than two hundred years ſtanding, during all which time the ponds in queſtion had exiſted. It was alſo proved, that Arnold had neglected to pay his rent for more than five years together, and that he had ſuſtained no ſuch injury as he had

had pretended[215]. The caſe was ſo circumſtanced, that the courts of juſtice could not determine otherwiſe than they did, without acting in oppoſition to the principles of equity, and to the eſtabliſhed laws and uſages of the country. But Frederick, at the ſame time that he exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of his judges, pronounced himſelf a haſty and unjuſt deciſion againſt them, without any proper inveſtigation of their conduct. He had received a falſe information of the tranſaction [E], and precipitately ſuppoſed, that injuſtice had been done, becauſe the perſon with whom the miller had contended was a man of rank. The cauſe had been firſt determined in a provincial court, againſt Arnold, and the ſentence was afterwards confirmed in the ſupreme court of juſtice at Berlin. But Frederick not only reverſed the deciſion by his own authority, and turned his chancellor, baron Furſt, and eight of his judges out of their offices, but alſo con-

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[215] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 289, 290.

[E] The king had firſt employed colonel Heucking, an old officer, to procure him the proper information in Arnold's caſe; and this gentleman employed as his agent a man whoſe name was Bech, who had formerly been an attorney, and who had been ſtruck off the roll, for iniquitous and illegal practices, by the provincial court in which the cauſe had been firſt tried. This man gave a falſe ſtatement of the caſe, out of reſentment againſt the court; and to this man's repreſentation the king gave implicit credit. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 282.

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1779.

demned them to cloſe impriſonment for a year at Spandau. He likewiſe condemned them to pay the full price of the mill, and to reſtore the ſame to Arnold, beſides paying the full coſts of all his ſuits, and making him a compenſation for his loſs of time and buſineſs [216].

BARON Zeidlitz, one of the confidential miniſters of ſtate, refuſed to counterſign this deciſion againſt the judges; and was, on that account, in diſgrace till the king's death. The court and people of Berlin had ſo ſtrong a conviction of the injuſtice of the king's proceedings in Arnold's caſe, that ſubſcriptions were opened for the ſupport of the impriſoned judges, which amounted to much more than their ſalaries; and the prince-royal of Pruſſia, and the princeſs Amelia, were among the number of ſubſcribers. All the proceedings in the caſe of Arnold have ſince been reverſed. Count Hertzberg ſays of the preſent king, that 'he has cauſed to be 'abrogated and ſet aſide thoſe arbitrary arrangements, which the late king had made in the 'famous caſe of the miller Arnold, and has thus 'repaired a ſtriking injuſtice, which that great 'prince had committed by his miſtakes and precipitation, and by the conſequences even of his 'zeal for juſtice [217].'

[216] Latrobe, ut ſupra, p. 287, 291. [217] Mémoire Hiſtorique de la première année du règne de Frederick Guillaume II. Roi de Pruſſe, p. 14.

THE

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1780.

THE conduct of the king of Pruſſia, in the caſe of the miller Arnold, ſhews how incapable any deſpotic prince, though of the greateſt abilities, muſt ever be, of the proper adminiſtration of juſtice. In this caſe, Frederick at firſt really intended to do juſtice; but the ſummary manner, in which he attempted to do it, defeated his own end. In conſequence of his neglect of thoſe forms of law, which are neceſſary to aſcertain where the truth lies, he was totally miſtaken; his information was erroneous, and his deciſion unjuſt; and his treatment of his chancellor and judges in the higheſt degree arbitrary and oppreſſive. But he could never afterwards be brought to reverſe his proceedings. He was accuſtomed to perſiſt, with the moſt inflexible obſtinacy, in whatever he had once determined, however erroneouſly, reſpecting his adminiſtration of government, eſpecially when his will and pleaſure had been made publickly and generally known.

IN 1780, Frederick wrote a letter to D'Alembert, in which was the following paſſage: 'We 'are both old; let us reſt ſatisfied with having 'ſeen the glory of an age, which did honour to 'the human mind, and to which you have con'tributed. To the ſplendid days, during which 'Cicero, Virgil, and Horace flouriſhed, ſuc'ceeded the times of Seneca and Pliny; and to 'theſe barbariſm. After the degradation of the 'human mind came the renovation of the ſciences.

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1781.

'Let viciſſitude have its reign, and let us bleſs 'heaven we came into the world in good times, 'and have been the contemporaries of men of 'talents and genius. With reſpect to prieſts, 'they will remain incorrigible, till the whole 'race be extirpated[218].' In another letter to D'Alembert, dated July 14, 1781, Frederick ſays, ſpeaking of ſome of the proceedings of the emperor, 'This Cæſar Joſeph, whom you men-'tion, confirms me in my propenſity to the 'opinions of the acataleptic ſect. Some ſay he 'is at Bruſſels; others at Paris; and I anſwer, 'like madame de Sevigne, I do not think he is 'at either place. He makes all the monks and 'abbes of his dominions tremble. Some pre-'tend he hates the perjured, and obliges theſe 'gentlemen to an exact obſervance of the vow 'of poverty, which they have taken. Here you 'ſee the good which war effects in Chriſtianity; 'for war coſts immenſe ſums, and princes bor-'row. New wars new debts, which muſt be 'paid. The treaſury being empty, what is to 'be done? The only remedy is to ſtrip the 'clergy of their wealth; and neceſſity obliges 'monarchs to have recourſe to this ſole remain-'ing expedient. Were our Calvin a witneſs of 'theſe events, he would thus addreſs us; "Ad-"mire, brethren, the impenetrable ways of Pro-

[218] Poſthumous Works, vol. XII. p. 237.

"vidence!

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1782.

"vidence! The Being of Beings, who abhors the horrible and facrilegious ſuperſtition into which the church has fallen, makes not the voice of the ſage the inſtrument to render truth triumphant; nor deigns to work miracles to root up error! What then is the inſtrument this Being employs, for the deſtruction of monks; and to cauſe thoſe vile and impure organs of fanaticiſm to vaniſh from the face of the earth? Kings, brethren, kings! That is to ſay, the moſt ignorant ſpecies of men that crawl on the ſurface of this globe!"—'It is not me, however, but John Calvin who ſays all this. Obſerve the proteſt, gentlemen of the poſt-office; and, ſhould your noble curioſity induce you to inquire into the contents of my letter, do not confound my name with that of Calvin. I too much reſpect the profound knowledge of the archbiſhop of Paris, and of his maker of mandates, to wiſh to give them offence. Neither can any perſon hold the unalterable folly of the antique Sorbonne, and its infallible deciſions, in greater reſpect [219].'

In another letter, the king ſays to D'Alembert, 'I am ſorry to hear, that you have ſuffered 'by the gravel, while I have been confined by 'the gout. Of this we muſt accuſe age. Time, 'which has deſtroyed the temple of Jupiter at

[219] Ibid. p. 280, 281, 284.

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1783.

'the Capitol, and left no veſtige of the tower 'of Babel, whoſe head, as you know, was in the 'clouds; time, I ſay, will much more eaſily 'debilitate, and fret away, ſprings ſo fragile, as 'are thoſe which give motion to the human 'body. Yet does the clay, of which we are 'manufactured, longer reſiſt deſtruction, than 'iron itſelf, notwithſtanding its hardneſs. You 'muſt know, I inquired how long clocks, which 'are placed in church ſteeples, remain before they 'are worn out; and was told, to my great aſto-'niſhment, that they muſt be entirely renewed 'once in twenty years. Ruſt eats the parts, and 'occaſions the ſprings to break, by which mo-'tion is ſtopped; for this reaſon we two, who 'have been impertinent enough to live longer 'than the duration of three clocks of iron, ought 'not to think it ſtrange, that the machine is out 'of order, and that its infirmities preſage ap-'proaching diſſolution [220].'

IN the year 1783, a memorial was preſented by M. de Thulemeyer, the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague, to the States-general, in which it was requeſted, in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty, that they would take ſuch meaſures as might effectually put an end to the perſecutions which were then carried on againſt the ſtadtholder, and that they would maintain him in the

[220] Ibid. p. 323, 324.

full

full enjoyment of thoſe prerogatives, which, it was ſaid, were the rightful attributes of his perſon and family. The following year the king himſelf wrote a letter to the ſtates-general, in which he complained of the many libels that were publiſhed in Holland againſt the prince of Orange. He admitted in this letter, that he was 'not acquainted with the internal conſtitution 'of the republic in all its parts[221];' but he ſaid, 'We know full well, that owing to a dread leſt 'the liberty of the republic ſhould be endan-'gered, the dignity of the ſtadtholder has, at 'times, been entirely laid aſide: but without 'inveſtigating whether ſuch apprehenſions were 'grounded or not, certain it is, that they can-'not exiſt at preſent; ſince by the wiſe and ſafe 'policy that actuates the reigning potentates of 'Europe, thoſe reſpective powers are watchful 'for the preſervation of each other, and none 'of them can tamely ſuffer, much leſs contri-'bute, to the ſubverſion of the other [F]. You 'would ſee us eagerly take the part of the re-'public, and be the firſt to act in its behalf, 'were any ſuch deſigns broached againſt the 'ſtates. But we can SAFELY take upon us to 'aſſure, that neither the preſent ſtadtholder, nor 'ANY his moſt immediate ſucceſſors, WILL EVER

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1783.

[221] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 320.

[F] Of this obſervation of Frederick, the partition of Poland was an admirable illuſtration.

'con-

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1784.

'contrive, or undertake, any thing againſt the 'freedom or welfare of the republic, as it is in- 'ſeparable from their own proſperity. We, on 'the contrary, COULD pledge ourſelves, that they 'WILL EVER diſcharge the high and important 'office of ſtadtholder, and exerciſe its preroga- 'tives, conformably to the intentions and mean- 'ing of your high mightineſſes, from which 'THEY WILL NEVER DEPART; and for this we 'DO moſt ſolemnly ſtand pledged to the ſtates- 'general[222].' Frederick farther ſaid, 'We flatter 'ourſelves, that you will conſider theſe our re- 'preſentations merely as the emanations of that 'FRIENDSHIP, which, as their good neighbour, 'actuates us in favour of the republic; and alſo 'as proceeding from that concern, which we 'muſt naturally feel for an illuſtrious houſe, to 'which we are ſo nearly allied; and by no means 'ſuppoſe, that we PRESUME TO MEDDLE in the 'private affairs of the ſtates, or encroach upon 'their freedom, grounded on the firmeſt baſis, 'and ſo glorioufly acquired.' But his majeſty added, ſomewhat inconſiſtently, 'We cannot, 'conſidering the ſituation of our dominions, and 'of our antient connexions with the republic, 'forbear feeling the deepeſt concern for the fate 'of the illuſtrious houſe of Orange, and the 'continuance of the ſtadtholderſhip, which we

[222] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 321.

'NEVER CAN TAMELY SUFFER TO UNDERGO ANY 'ALTERATION [223].' On the ſeventeenth of September, 1785, Frederick ſent another letter to the States-general, in which is the following paſſage: 'We recommend in the moſt ſerious 'manner to your high mightineſſes, the welfare 'and intereſts of the lord hereditary ſtadtholder, 'of our dear niece, and of their family; and we 'hope, that your high mightineſſes will vouch-'ſafe to take into deliberation, and make the 'lords of the reſpective ſtates conſider, that we 'cannot be indifferent reſpecting the cruel and 'unmerited fate of perſons ſo nearly related to 'us; but, on the contrary, that we ſhall watch 'over the preſervation of their welfare, to which 'by every poſſible means we ought to contri-'bute [224].'

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

GREAT diſſenſions had ſubſiſted for a conſiderable time in Holland, reſpecting the ſtadtholder; and the fact was, that his conduct had afforded too much ground for diſſatisfaction. Count Hertzberg mentions it, as one principal reaſon for the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the affairs of Holland, that he did it, in order 'to 'preſerve the ſtadtholderſhip, and its preroga-'tives, to the family of his worthy and incom-'parable niece, the princeſs of Orange [225].' The

[223] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 322. [224] Ibid. p. 365.
[225] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie de Frederic II. p. 28.

count's

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

count's ſtatement is extremely candid. But the office of ſtadtholder of Holland was not inſtituted for the benefit of the niece of the king of Pruſſia, or of any of her relations. It was inſtituted for the benefit of the people of Holland, who had an undoubted right to aboliſh the office, whenever they found it uſeleſs or pernicious; and the relationſhip of the king of Pruſſia to the princeſs of Orange, could give him no juſt right to interfere in the domeſtic government of Holland. This interference, however, may ſerve to ſhew, how dangerous and pernicious it is to free ſtates, that their princes or magiſtrates ſhould intermarry in the families of princes highly deſpotic, and poſſeſſed at the ſame time of numerous ſtanding armies. Such princes may avail themſelves of any pretext, the interruption of a lady on a journey, or any other pretence, however trifling and contemptible, for trampling on the rights of men, or diſturbing the peace of nations. No advantages from ſuch alliances are a compenſation for the probable dangers of ſuch connexions.

THE conſtitution of the government of the United Provinces is undoubtedly too ariſtocratical; but the defects of their government ſhould be reformed by the Dutch nation themſelves, and not by Pruſſian or any other foreign troops. No magiſtrate who requires his authority to be maintained by ſuch means, by the aſſiſtance of

mercenary

mercenary troops of another nation, can deſerve any ſupport from the friends of freedom, and the rights of human nature. The inhabitants of Utrecht, and of ſeveral other parts of Holland, were endeavouring to introduce a greater mixture of democracy into the conſtitution of the republic; and, if no foreign power had interfered, their form of government would probably have been gradually and eſſentially improved. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, has ſometimes been pretended as a reaſon for ſuch interpoſitions; but it never can be neceſſary for the preſervation of the balance of power, that one nation ſhould claim a right to dictate to another reſpecting their conduct to their own magiſtrates, or whether a particular office of magiſtracy ſhould be continued or aboliſhed. Such interpoſitions are a manifeſt violation of natural right, and are not to be juſtified by any ſuch pretences.

IF the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the domeſtic government of Holland cannot juſtly be defended, a ſimilar interference on the part of England, muſt have been ſtill more indefenſible, and more inconſiſtent. It could ill become a nation, who had cut off the head of one tyrant, and driven another from the throne, to tell the people of Holland, that they ſhould not be diſſatisfied with their ſtadtholder. The prepoſſeſſions of the court of England may lead them

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

them to defend the cauſe of the ſtadtholder; but it can never be the intereſt of the people of England, nor in any degree honourable to their character as a nation, to engage in a conteſt in ſupport of the claims of the ſtadtholder, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of a great part of the people of Holland. Of the conduct of the ſtadtholder, the Dutch nation are the ſole and proper judges; nor can the inhabitants of any foreign country have a right to dictate to them, what judgment they ſhall form, or in what manner they ſhall act, reſpecting a magiſtrate of their own creation. Every nation muſt have a natural and unqueſtionable right to regulate its own internal government; and if the Dutch chooſe to remove their ſtadtholder, or to abrogate his office, it would be no neceſſary conſequence, that the balance of power in Europe would be overturned. Indeed, the balance of power ſhould be maintained by other and better means, than by preventing the inhabitants of a country from correcting the defects of their own mode of government, or from oppoſing the authority of a magiſtrate, whom they conceive to have violated his truſt.

IT is the intereſt of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, to be on terms of peace and friendſhip with each other; and the beſt method that England can adopt, in order to prevent other nations from acquiring an undue aſcendancy

dancy in Holland, is to treat the Dutch with equity, to admit all their juſt claims, and to avoid any improper interference in their internal government. It is not very reaſonable to expect, that the inhabitants of Holland ſhould be ready to employ their fleet in ſupport of the liberties of Europe, if they are to be deprived of their own liberties; which is undoubtedly the caſe, whenever they are compelled by foreign powers to an implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of their ſtadtholder, or prevented from making thoſe arrangements in their own domeſtic government, which they may judge to be expedient. CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

As to the balance of power, it may be reaſonable, that attention ſhould be paid by Great Britain to its preſervation; but it does not therefore follow, that Great Britain ſhould take an active, burthenſome, and expenſive part, in every diſpute upon the continent, in matters in which ſhe is not at all intereſted, and in caſes in which the acuteſt politician can hardly determine, on which ſide the balance is likely to preponderate. Whenever ſhe does take any part in continental diſputes, it ſhould be in ſupport of general liberty. That is the part moſt ſuited to the genius of the nation, and which will ever be found in the reſult moſt conducive to its real intereſt and honour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The great attention of the king of Pruſſia to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the general proſperity of his dominions.—Increaſe of population in the Pruſſian dominions during the reign of Frederick.—Eſtabliſhment of the Germanic union.—Treaty of amity and commerce between Pruſſia and the United States of America. Death of the king.

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SOME of the latter years of Frederick, though they were not diſtinguiſhed by ſuch actions as greatly excite the attention of mankind, were yet in reality more illuſtrious than thoſe of any preceding period. During theſe years, he employed extraordinary aſſiduity in the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce throughout his dominions, and in increaſing their population, and general proſperity. Count Hertzberg ſays, 'Agriculture being the ſureſt 'means of increaſing population, becauſe it fur-'niſhes the moſt immediate and neceſſary ſub-'ſiſtence to the inhabitants of a country, the 'king not only rebuilt the villages and farms 'which had fallen into decay, but alſo cauſed 'new ones to be erected, and eſpecially in the 'neighbourhood of rivers. The greateſt part of 'theſe rivers having formerly overflowed their 'banks,

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'banks, and overwhelmed much fertile ground, 'he found means to confine them within their 'proper bounds; and, by thus preventing inun-'dations, he recovered many acres of excellent 'arable and paſture land, which he gave to fo-'reign ſettlers, on condition that they ſhould 'build and ſtock their farms; and, to encourage 'them to do this, he granted them, for a num-'ber of years, an exemption from taxes, and 'from military ſervice. This was particularly 'done along the banks of the rivers Netz and 'Warthe, from Drieſen to Cuſtrin, by which '120,000 acres were recovered from the en-'croachments of thoſe rivers, and in which three 'thouſand families obtained ſettlements. The 'ſame was effected on the banks of the Oder, 'from Cuſtrin to Oderberg; along the Havel 'and the Elbe, round the great lake of Madue 'in Pomerania, and in the march of Fiener in 'the province of Magdeburgh; and alſo in the 'environs of Potſdam, and in a great number 'of other places throughout the provinces.'— 'On theſe newly recovered lands, the king 'built between five and ſix hundred villages and 'hamlets, and eſtabliſhed more than 42,000 'families.'—'In travelling over theſe lands, it 'affords great pleaſure to find flouriſhing colo-'nies, good buildings, fine fields, rich paſture 'grounds, and numberleſs herds of cattle, where

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'formerly nothing was to be ſeen but water and marſhes [126].'

THE ſame noble writer informs us, that 'the 'king, not ſatisfied with having built all theſe 'villages, and eſtabliſhed ſo great a number of 'families, by colonies of foreigners, and of na-'tives, alſo advanced, to many gentlemen and 'landholders, ſums, amounting to ſeveral mil-'lions of crowns, in order to enable them to 'clear and to improve their eſtates. Theſe 'ſums were either a free donation, or were lent 'at the low intereſt of one or two per cent. the 'produce of which was appropriated for pen-'ſions to ſchool-maſters, and to the widows or 'daughters of poor officers. By theſe means 'he cauſed to be cleared, and to be cultivated, 'almoſt all the land which was capable of it, 'and which was in any degree worth the labour.' —'He likewiſe gave to cultivators of land, of 'every kind, more than three hundred hereditary 'farms, or poſſeſſions, out of his own demeſnes.' —'He alſo promoted the intereſts of agricul-'ture, by cauſing the ſeeds of lucerne, trefoil, 'and lupin, to be diſtributed to every farmer 'who would apply for them; by ordering a 'great number of cows to be purchaſed for 'many; and by directing large ſums to be ex-

[126] Diſſertation ſur la Population des Etats en général, et ſur celle des Etats Pruſſiens en particulier, p. 9, 10.

'pended

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'pended every year in premiums and bounties, 'in order to encourage farmers to proſecute 'every kind of rural induſtry.

'ONE of the principal means which the king 'adopted, in caſe of bad harveſts, in order to 'prevent famine, and its depopulating conſe-'quences, was to erect, in every province, im-'menſe ſtorehouſes for corn, for the ſubſiſtence 'of his army in time of war, and of his other 'ſubjects in ſeaſons of natural ſcarcity. By 'purchaſing this corn, he kept the price of it 'ſufficiently high to encourage the huſbandman; 'and, by opening his ſtores, could at any time 'prevent the market from riſing ſo as to diſtreſs 'the people. By theſe means the Pruſſian do-'minions, though not remarkable for extraor-'dinary fertility, ſuffered nothing, and were 'even able to ſupply their neighbours, in the 'dreadful famine of 1772, the effects of which 'were ſo fatal in ſome of the moſt fertile parts 'of Germany[227].'

FREDERICK was equally attentive to manufac-tures and to commerce. Manufactures and trades of almoſt all kinds were either eſtabliſhed by him, or received encouragement from him, at Berlin, at Potſdam, and in every other part of his dominions. 'We are in poſſeſſion,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'of almoſt every poſſible kind

[227] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p 11, 12, 13, 14.

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'of manufacture, and can not only exclusively 'supply the Prussian dominions, but also furnish 'the remote countries of Spain and Italy with 'linen and woollen cloths. Our manufactures 'go even to China, where some of our Silesian 'cloths are conveyed by the way of Russia. We 'export every year linen cloth to the amount of 'six millions of crowns, and woollen cloths and 'wool to the amount of four millions; which, 'added to the iron-works and hardware of the 'county of Mark, which brings into circulation 'about a million of crowns, to the timber of 'Brandenburgh and Pomerania, to the corn, flax, 'and timber of Prussia, and to the important 'Polish trade that we carry on through Konigs-'berg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stettin, 'affords us sufficient evidence of the balance of 'trade being very decidedly in our favour. So 'many manufactures naturally give subsistence 'to a great number of workmen, and draw 'many foreigners into the country; and the 'augmentation of this class of citizens neces-'sarily increases the general population. We 'have in the different dominions of the king 'about 123,000 workmen, who work in silk, in 'woollen, in linen, in cotton, in leather, and in 'other materials, various kinds of merchandize, 'to the amount of sixteen millions of crowns, of 'which eight are for foreign consumption. If 'we compute that the family of every workman

'consists

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'conſiſts only of four perſons, our manufactures 'give ſubſiſtence to half a million of people.'

'THE king protected and encourged manu-'factures in every poſſible manner, eſpecially by 'advancing large ſums of money to aſſiſt them 'in carrying on their manufactures, animating 'them by rewards, and eſtabliſhing magazines 'of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit 'of the ſmall woollen manufacturers. It was 'with a view to encourage trade, that the inha-'bitants of Berlin and Potſdam were exempted 'from military ſervice; and his majeſty granted 'nearly the ſame indulgence to the inhabitants 'of the circles of the mountains of Sileſia, where 'the poor, but induſtrious and ſober weavers, 'and who are ſettled in a narrow and barren 'diſtrict, carry on thoſe flouriſhing linen manu-'factures, which produce us an exportation of ſo 'many millions[218].'—'The navigation of the 'Pruſſian dominions was likewiſe greatly bene-'fited and increaſed, by the countenance and 'protection which the king gave to his flag, 'which was reſpected every where, and even by 'the inhabitants of Morocco. We employ, in 'the maritime provinces, Pruſſia, Pomerania, 'and Eaſt Frieſland, twelve hundred veſſels; 'and, if we reckon ten men for the crew of 'every veſſel, this trading marine gives employ-

[218] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 15, 16.

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'ment and ſubſiſtence to twelve thouſand ſea-
'men. Our own national veſſels carry almoſt
'the whole of the importation and exportation
'of the Pruſſian dominions; and they begin to
'carry on a conſiderable coaſting trade, eſpeci-
'ally the veſſels from Embden[329].'

AMONG the different manufactures which were patronized and encouraged by Frederick, he was particularly attentive to the ſilk manufacture [G]; and it made, during his reign, a very rapid progreſs. He alſo endeavoured to introduce the Engliſh manufactures into his dominions; and, with that view, he gave ten thouſand crowns, in the year 1784, for machines for carrying on the Mancheſter manufactures[330]; and four thouſand

[329] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 18.

[G] Count Hertzberg ſays, 'The king adopted every 'method of favouring and encouraging the growth of mul-'berry trees, and the culture of ſilk; eſpecially by advancing 'ſums of money, and by cauſing houſes and rooms to be 'built for ſmall cultivators. Hence we ſee that this ſpecies 'of culture has made a great progreſs, and chiefly by the 'zeal for the promotion of it, that hath been excited in the 'country clergy, by rewards in money, medals, and other 'diſtinctions. This is an object of the greater importance to 'the ſtate, as, during three months of the ſummer, it affords 'employment and ſubſiſtence to a number of perſons, who are 'too young, or too old, for more laborious occupations, and 'this without any prejudice to agriculture.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 17.

[330] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 25.

crowns,

crowns, in 1785, towards eſtabliſhing a manufactory of Engliſh earthen-ware at Konigſberg[231].

By the various methods that the king adopted for increaſing the number of his ſubjects, the population of his dominions was ſo much augmented, as to be nearly double what it was at his acceſſion, without taking into conſideration his new acquiſitions. Count Hertzberg, after ſtating the population of the Pruſſian dominions, in 1784, to amount to ſix millions, ſays, 'When 'the king aſcended the throne, in 1740, the 'whole population of his dominions amounted 'to 2,240,000 perſons. If to this be added two 'millions for the population of Sileſia, Weſt 'Pruſſia, and Eaſt Frieſland, as the three pro'vinces that the king acquired, and if theſe two 'millions are deducted from the ſum total of ſix 'millions, there will remain for the increaſe of 'the population of the antient provinces the 'number of 1,770,000, which is nearly double 'the amount of the antient population; and if 'that of the new provinces be taken into the ac'count, population hath been nearly trebled[232] during the reign of Frederick [H].

TOWARDS

[231] Diſſertation ſur la véritable Richeſſe des Etats, &c. par M. de Hertzberg, p. 43.

[232] Diſſertation ſur la Population, &c. p. 23.

[H] Of the whole increaſe of population in the Pruſſian dominions, during the reign of Frederick, I cannot ſpeak with ſuch full and entire approbation as ſeems to be expreſſed by

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TOWARDS the close of his reign, Frederick issued an order, that when any of his subjects came near him, or had any thing to present to him, they should not approach him kneeling[232]; that, he said, being an improper posture, on any other occasion but that of addressing the Supreme Being. About the same time he also made a second reform in the laws, and the administration of justice, under the direction of the high chancellor, De Carmer; by which the principal direction and management of law-suits was left to the judges, and the influence of the advocates was greatly diminished. It has, however, been justly supposed, that too much power was given to the judges by the new arrangement, and that the Prussian subjects have been deprived of some security against the partiality of judges, by the restraints that have been put upon the advocates by the new regulations.

count Hertzberg. The king was [illegible] with great applause, for many of the methods by which he endeavoured to extend the population of his country; but I can never speak with commendation of that increase of the general population of the Prussian dominions, which was occasioned by an augmentation of territory not justly acquired, and by forcibly dragging away many thousand families from their native country, merely for the aggrandizement of the Prussian monarchy, without the least regard to justice or to humanity.

[232] Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 126.

IN

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In the year 1785, a ſcheme was formed by the emperor, to prevail on the elector-palatine, by the offer of a crown, to agree to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all thoſe appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teſchen, for the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be conſtituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. To this ſcheme the elector-palatine appeared inclined to agree; but it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia, who, together with the duke of Deux-Ponts, inſiſted upon the treaties of Teſchen, and of Pavia, as well as on the balance of Germany, as irrefragable arguments againſt any alienation of Bavaria[234]. Frederick at length completely defeated the ſcheme of the emperor, by propoſing what is called THE GERMANIC UNION; or, a new treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indiviſibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the reſpective ſtates in particular; which was ſigned at Berlin on the 23d of July, 1785; the principal parties being the king of Pruſſia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony[235]. The margrave of Anſpach, the duke of Deux-Ponts, and

[234] Diſſertation ſur la veritable Richeſſe des Etats, la Balance du Commerce et celle du Pouvoir, par M. de Hertzberg, p. 20.

[235] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 131.

other

CHAP. XXXVII. other German princes, were alſo included in this treaty.

A. D. 1786. In 1786, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between the king of Pruſſia, and the United States of America. The miniſters employed, for the negociation of this treaty, were, on the part of the king of Pruſſia, baron Thulemeyer, and on the part of the United States, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Eſq; and Thomas Jefferſon, Eſq. It was ſtipulated by this treaty, that there ſhould be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and ſincere friendſhip, between his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, his heirs, ſucceſſors, and ſubjects, on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens on the other, without exceptions of perſons or places; that the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia might frequent all the coaſts and countries of the United States of America, and reſide and trade there in all ſorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize; and that they ſhould pay within the ſaid United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatſoever, than the moſt favoured nations did, or ſhould be obliged to pay; and they were to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the moſt favoured nation did or ſhould enjoy [336].

[336] Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States of America, and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, 8vo. 1786, p. 6, 7.

In

In like manner, the citizens of the United States of America might frequent all the coaſts and countries of the king of Pruſſia, and reſide and trade there, with the ſame privileges; but both the Pruſſians and the Americans were to conform to the laws of the country in which they were reſident. Each of the contracting parties were to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all veſſels and other effects belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of the other, which ſhould be within the extent of their juriſdiction, by ſea or by land. The antient and barbarous right to wrecks of the ſea was to be entirely aboliſhed, with reſpect to the ſubjects or citizens of the two contracting parties [317]. This treaty, in framing of which the enlightened and benevolent mind of Dr. Franklin is ſuppoſed to have been chiefly employed, alſo contained ſeveral excellent regulations for preventing cruelty to priſoners in caſe of war, for allowing them the neceſſary proviſions when in confinement, and for putting a ſtop to the depredations of privateers, and other calamities incident to a time of war.

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FREDERICK had now attained to the age of ſeventy-four years, and was in full poſſeſſion of thoſe uncommon powers of underſtanding, by which he had always been diſtinguiſhed. But his body was not equally vigorous with his mind.

[317] Treaty, ut ſupra, p. 13.

He

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He had in general enjoyed good health, though he had frequently been afflicted with the gout; but his bodily diſorders now began to increaſe, and he was extremely dropſical, without being himſelf ſenſible that he had that diſorder. He continued, however, to apply himſelf to the public buſineſs with his uſual aſſiduity. 'He employed the ſame indefatigable attention,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'to the internal government of his kingdom, and to the management of his affairs, during the laſt ſeven months of his life, as he had done formerly, and with the ſame ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the painful malady with which he was all that time afflicted.' Notwithſtanding his deſperate ſituation, he 'did not remit for a moment his practice of reading all the diſpatches of his foreign miniſters, or of dictating every morning, from four till ſeven, the anſwers that were to be ſent immediately to thoſe diſpatches [1], and main-

[1] It is ſaid that, at this period of his life, and when he was thus employed, one of his ſecretaries, at the very time that he was preſenting a paper to him, fell down dead at his feet. The king appeared not in the leaſt affected by the accident, but coolly ſaid, 'Let the body be taken away;' and having ſent for another ſecretary, went on with his buſineſs, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tome IV. p. 115

taining

'taining a regular correſpondence with the mi- CHAP. XXXVII.
'niſters of his cabinet, and thoſe for foreign A. D.
'affairs, on all great political concerns.'—'He 1786.
'kept up the ſame exact and daily correſpon-
'dence with the miniſters in the department of
'juſtice, and in that of the finances; and he di-
'rected himſelf, without any miniſter or general,
'the whole of the military correſpondence,
'dictating his orders to his ſecretaries and aids-
'du-camp. I remember, that, a few days be-
'fore his death, he even preſcribed to theſe laſt
'all the manœuvres that were to be performed
'at the reviews in Sileſia, adverting to the mi-
'nuteſt circumſtances of locality. At the ſame
'time, he ſent for general D'Anhalt to Potſ-
'dam, in order to direct ſome new military
'arrangements, for the raiſing of free battalions,
'to expedite the movement of the army in caſe
'of a war. He likewiſe ordered to attend him,
'at Potſdam, the miniſters of ſtate De Hoym
'and De Werder, and the privy-counſellor
'Schutz from Pomerania, to ſettle with them
'ſome new plans for the cultivation of land, and
'the improvement of manufactures, which he
'propoſed to have executed in 1787, in the dif-
'ferent provinces; and particularly that which
'he had ſo much at heart, to have new villages
'built at his own expence in all the diſtricts,
'where the huſbandmen reſided on plains of too
'great extent, or where population appeared to

'be

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'be too limited. He alſo took particular plea-
'ſure in the execution of a deſign that he had
'formed, of cauſing three hundred ſheep and
'rams to be brought from Spain, in order to
'improve the breed of our own flocks. As
'theſe ſheep were to paſs, a few days before his
'death, by Potſdam, he expected them with im-
'patience; being deſirous, as he himſelf ſaid,
'that ſome of them might come "to pay him
"a viſit at Sans-Souci[238]."

IN the month of June, 1786, Dr. Zimmerman, who is well known for his valuable medical productions, and his other ingenious writings, arrived at Potſdam, from Hanover, in order to attend the king as a phyſician. On the 9th of that month, the doctor had received from Frederick the following letter:

'Dr. Zimmerman,

'For eight months paſt I have been violently
'afflicted with an aſthma. The phyſicians of
'this country give me medicines of every kind;
'but, inſtead of affording me relief, they tend
'only to render my diſorder worſe. As the re-
'putation of your ſkill is well known through-
'out all the Northern parts of Europe, I ſhould
'be very glad if you would take a jaunt hither,
'for a fortnight, that I may conſult you reſpect-

[238] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p 6, 7.

'ing

'ing my health, and the circumſtances of my preſent caſe. You may readily believe, that I will defray the expences of your journey, and make you a proper compenſation for your trouble. If you agree, therefore, to this propoſal, I ſhall ſend you a letter to his royal highneſs the duke of York, who will readily grant you permiſſion to comply with my requeſt: and, in this hope, I beg that God may take you under his ſacred and ſafe protection.

'Potſdam, June 6, 1786[339].'

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Dr. Zimmerman arrived at Potſdam on the 23d of the ſame month; and the next day, at ſix in the morning, he received a meſſage from the king, that he was informed of his arrival at Potſdam, and that he wiſhed to ſee him in two hours. When the doctor arrived at Sans Souci, an officer of the king's houſehold conducted him to the office of the private ſecretaries. While he was waiting, he inquired of this officer, how the king did, and who was his phyſician. The officer anſwered, 'The king is very ill; 'and, at preſent, one of his huſſars in waiting 'is his phyſician.' 'One of his huſſars in waiting his phyſician!' ſaid Dr. Zimmerman, with ſurprize: 'Yes, ſir,' continued the officer; 'and,

[339] Dr. Zimmerman's Converſations with the late King of Pruſſia, tranſlated into Engliſh, Lond. 8vo. 1791. p. 1, 2.

'ſome-

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'ſometimes his majeſty is his own phyſician. 'This huſſar is his majeſty's principal valet de 'chambre; his name is Schoening.' Schoening introduced him to the king; and Dr. Zimmerman gives the following account of the king's appearance, and of his manner of receiving him. 'When I entered,' ſays he, 'the apartment of 'the king, I found him ſitting in a large elbow 'chair, with his back turned towards that ſide 'of the room by which I had entered. He had 'on his head a large hat, very much worn, or'namented with a plume of feathers, equally 'antient; and his dreſs conſiſted of a ſurtout, 'of ſky blue ſattin, all bedawbed before with 'Spaniſh ſnuff. He wore boots; and reſted one 'of his legs, which was very much ſwelled, upon 'a ſtool; while the other hung down to the 'floor. When he perceived me, he pulled off 'his hat, in a very polite and affable manner; 'and, in a mild tone of voice, ſaid, "I return "you many thanks, ſir, for your kindneſs in "coming hither, and for the ſpeed with which "you have performed your journey." After ſome previous converſation, the king ſaid to the doctor, 'You ſee I am very ill.' Zimmerman replied, 'Your majeſty's eye is as good as when 'I had the honour of ſeeing you here fifteen 'years ago. I obſerve not the leaſt diminution 'in that fire and vigour, with which your ma'jeſty's eyes were then animated.' 'Oh!' ſaid

Frederick,

Frederick, 'I am grown very old; and I find 'myſelf extremely ill.' Zimmerman anſwered, 'Germany and Europe are not ſenſible of your 'majeſty's illneſs.' 'My occupations,' ſaid Frederick, 'go on in their uſual train.' Zimmerman then ſaid, 'Your majeſty riſes at four 'in the morning, and by that you prolong and 'double life.' 'I do not riſe,' ſaid the king; 'for I never go to bed. I paſs the whole night 'in this eaſy chair, in which you now ſee me[440].'

DR. Zimmerman found, that the king's caſe was decidedly dropſical; but he was very unwilling, for a conſiderable time, to believe that he had a dropſy. Frederick was a very intractable patient; and his phyſician learned from his domeſtics, that, 'no idea could be formed of 'the exceſs which the king allowed himſelf in 'his food [K]; that his cooks were obliged to 'ſeaſon all his diſhes in ſuch a manner, as was 'enough to deſtroy his ſtomach; and that thoſe, 'which were moſt difficult of digeſtion, were 'his greateſt favourites[441].'

[440] Zimmerman's Converſations, ut ſupra, p. 6—13.

[K] In a letter dated Aug. 15, 1786, the author of the *Hiſtoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin*, after giving ſome account of the ſtate of the king's diſorder, ſays, 'His appetite is ſo 'extraordinary, that he generally eats of ten or twelve of the 'higheſt ſeaſoned diſhes. His breakfaſt and ſupper conſiſt of 'ſmoked tongues, with bread and butter, and a large quan'tity of pepper.' Vol. I. p. 86.

[441] Ibid. p. 17.

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IN the courſe of his attendance on the king, Dr. Zimmerman had various converſations with him on literary ſubjects. In one of theſe Frederick ſaid, 'LOCKE and NEWTON were, of all 'men, the deepeſt thinkers; but the French 'underſtand much better than the Engliſh the 'manner of expreſſing things well.' Zimmerman replied, 'The Engliſh language is, without doubt, very proper for treating of philoſophy, and the higher branches of ſcience; 'but the parliament always ſees ſome new Demoſthenes ſtart up in its boſom. The Engliſh 'language is adapted alſo for the ſimple and 'noble ſtyle of hiſtory; and, for works of 'humour and pleaſantry, it is inferior to no 'language whatever.' 'Robertſon and Hume,' ſaid the king, 'are hiſtorians of the firſt claſs; 'I eſteem them both very much.' 'Gibbon,' replied Zimmerman, 'is, perhaps, ſuperior to 'either of them. All the beauties and dignity 'of which the hiſtoric ſtyle is ſuſceptible, are 'united in Gibbon. His periods have an enchanting harmony, and all his thoughts are 'deep and nervous[242].' The king then made ſome inquiry concerning the writings of Mr. Gibbon, with which he appeared to be unacquainted.

IN another converſation with Dr. Zimmerman, Frederick ſaid, ſpeaking of Switzerland, 'William

[242] Ibid. p. 29, 30.

'Tell

VI.

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'Tell was a great benefactor to his country.' Zimmerman replied, 'Tell, and his compa-'nions, did the greateſt ſervice that can be ren-'dered to a country. To theſe heroes we are 'indebted for our liberty.' The king ſaid, 'I 'am very fond of republican conſtitutions. The 'preſent age, however, is dangerous for all re-'publics. Swiſſerland alone ſeems likely to 'ſubſiſt long. I love the Swiſs, and above all 'the government of Berne. There is dignity 'in every thing which that government does. 'I love the people of Berne[243].'

THOUGH Frederick treated Dr. Zimmerman, on the whole very reſpectfully [L], he ſometimes was in a very ill humour; and on one or two occaſions ſpoke to him, he ſays, 'with terrible 'looks; ſparkling eyes, his head raiſed up,' and ſuch a voice as he never before heard in his life[244]. Dr. Zimmerman alſo ſays, 'Always when the 'king was in a bad humour he called me *Mr. 'Phyſician*; at other times he never made uſe 'of this expreſſion[245].' Dr. Zimmerman found

[243] Ibid.

[L] Schœning, who had heard all Zimmerman's firſt converſation with Frederick, ſaid to the doctor afterwards, 'I 'never ſaw the king ſo mild and tractable when medicines 'were preſcribed for him; and I believe that he never before 'in his life behaved with ſo much politeneſs to a phyſician.' Converſations, p. 34.

[244] Ibid. p. 22. [245] Ibid. p. 70.

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the king's caſe too bad, for him to be able to afford him any thing but ſome temporary relief. He received two thouſand crowns for the expences of his journey; and quitted Potſdam on the 11th of July [M]. When he took leave of the king, Frederick ſaid to him, 'Adieu, my good, my 'dear Mr. Zimmerman [N]; do not forget the 'old man whom you have ſeen here[246].'

Of the behaviour of Frederick, during ſome of the latter weeks of his life, the following account has been publiſhed by count Hertzberg, who attended him to the moment that he expired: 'The laſt five weeks of his life,' ſays the count, 'from the ninth of July to the ſeventeenth of 'Auguſt, when he died, I paſſed by his deſire at 'his palace of Sans-Souci. The counts de

[M] In a letter dated on the ſame day on which Dr. Zimmerman left Potſdam, Mirabeau ſays, 'Parties are very buſy 'at Berlin, eſpecially that of prince Henry, who is eternally 'eager, without well knowing what he wiſhes. But all is 'ſilence in the king's preſence. He ſtill is king, and will 'remain ſo to the laſt moment.' Hiſtoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin, tome I. p. 8.

[N] Dr. Zimmerman has ſince publiſhed 'Select Views of 'the Life, Reign, and Character, of Frederick the Great, 'King of Pruſſia,' which have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Major Neuman, and publiſhed in two volumes, 12mo. In this work Dr. Zimmerman's extreme partiality to the Pruſſian monarch is very conſpicuous. He is manifeſtly diſpoſed to vindicate, or to palliate, the moſt cenſurable of his actions. But his account of his converſations with Frederick, during his attendance on him, is intereſting and curious.

[246] Ibid. p. 91.

Schwerin,

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'Schwerin, De Gortz, De Luccheſini, and De Pinto, who were with him three or four hours a day, can join me in the atteſtation, that though much ſwollen and incommoded with the dropſy, ſo that he could not move, without aſſiſtance, from a chair in which he reſted day and night, not being able to enjoy the comfort of a bed, and though it was evident that he ſuffered dreadfully, he never betrayed the leaſt ſymptom of uneaſineſs, or any diſagreeable ſenſation; but preſerving always his ſerene, contented, and tranquil air, and without ever ſpeaking of his condition, or of death, he converſed with us, in the moſt cordial and agreeable manner, on the public news, on literature, on antient and modern hiſtory, and particularly on rural affairs and gardening, to which he was greatly devoted, and which he never ceaſed to cultivate. His regular and conſtant cuſtom was, after having read, night and morning, the diſpatches of his foreign ambaſſadors, with the reports military and civil of his generals and miniſters, to ſend either at four or five o'clock, as the exigency of affairs might require, for his three cabinet ſecretaries in ſucceſſion, to one of whom he dictated the anſwers to be given to each of his miniſters at foreign courts, which he afterwards communicated to me; and to the other two his orders and anſwers to miniſters of ſtate, or to generals, upon

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'matters of military concern, or of finance, for 'of juſtice, as well as his anſwers to the letters 'and applications of individuals; and that in ſo 'minute and regular a manner, on ſubjects won-'derfully combined, that the ſecretaries had no-'thing to do but to add the titles, dates, and 'the uſual formalities.' Having diſcharged this 'buſineſs, at about ſeven or eight o'clock, he 'ordered in the commandant of Potſdam, the 'lieutenant-general De Rohdich, and his aids-'du-camp, to give them verbal orders relative 'to the duties of the garriſon for the day. It 'was not till he had thus fulfilled all the duties 'of a ſovereign, that he for a few moments ſaw 'his ſurgeon, and ſometimes a phyſician, in 'order to pay that attention to the ſtate of his 'body which neceſſity required. 'About eleven, 'the counts De Schwerin, De Gortz, De Luc-'cheſini, and De Pinto, with myſelf, went to 'him, and converſed with him till the clock ſtruck 'twelve, when he diſmiſſed us, and took his 'dinner alone. In the afternoon, he ſigned all 'the diſpatches and letters which he had dictated 'in the morning, and which his ſecretaries were 'obliged to prepare by that time. He again 'ſent for us, at five o'clock, and kept us with 'him till eight [o], when we withdrew to ſupper, 'and

[o] Dr. Zimmerman tells us, that once, during the time that he was at Potſdam, 'when the company who formed his 'evening

'and left him to paſs the remainder of the evening, in having paſſages read to him from antient authors, ſuch as Cicero, Plutarch, &c. and in reading afterwards ſuch new diſpatches as he had received, and then taking ſuch ſleep as his condition would permit him. This courſe of life was invariably continued till the fifteenth of Auguſt, on which day he dictated and ſigned his diſpatches, in a manner that would have done honour to a miniſter the moſt converſant in the routine of buſineſs. It was not till the ſixteenth of Auguſt, that he ceaſed to diſcharge the great functions of a king, and of a miniſter of ſtate, on which day he was deprived entirely of ſenſe, and on the morning of the ſeventeenth he exhaled his mighty ſoul, in my preſence, and in that of the reſpectable phyſician, Dr. Selle, without any convulſive motion[247].'

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Such was the end of this great and celebrated monarch, who died in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and in the forty-ſeventh of his reign. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, on the ninth of September following. The church, in which the royal remains were depoſited, was entirely hung with black; and on ſix columns

'evening party arrived, Frederick diſmiſſed them, by ſaying, "Gentlemen, I ſhall be in too bad humour this evening." P. 70, 71.

[247] Memoire Hiſtorique, ut ſupra, p. 8, 9, 10.

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were paintings, in grey, intended to exhibit ſome of the moſt remarkable circumſtances and tranſactions of the reign of Frederick. The firſt painting repreſented the king's conqueſts in Sileſia; the ſecond, the great ſtand made by him, againſt ſuch numerous and powerful enemies, during the ſeven years war; the third, the embelliſhments of the towns, and the cultivation of waſte lands, throughout the Pruſſian dominions; the fourth, the taking poſſeſſion of Weſtern Pruſſia; the fifth, the Germanic Union; and the ſixth, the protection afforded, during the reign of Frederick, to the arts and ſciences. Six trophies were alſo erected within the church, on which were inſcribed the names of twelve of the principal battles fought during his reign; namely, MOLWITZ, CZASLAU, SOHR, HOHEN-FRIEDBERG, KESSELDORFF, LOWOSITZ, PRAGUE, ROSBACH, LISSA, ZORNDORFF, LIGNITZ, and TORGAU. In eleven of theſe battles, Frederick himſelf had commanded, and was victorious. The battle of KESSELDORFF was gained by the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau.

FREDERICK left behind him a will, of which the following is a tranſlation: 'After having 'reſtored peace to my kingdom; after having 'conquered countries, raiſed a victorious army, 'and filled my treaſury; after having eſtabliſhed 'a good adminiſtration throughout my dominions; after having made my enemies tremble;

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'I reſign, without regret, this breath of life to Nature. I leave to my very dear nephew, Frederick William, my conquered and acquired countries; my palaces, my buildings, my gardens, my paintings, my wardrobe, and my furniture; on condition, that he tenders the trifles which I deſtine to my family, as a mark of my remembrance of them; for my eſtates, my treaſure, and my people, are his inheritance by birthright. I deſire my nephew to leave to the queen, my conſort, what ſhe has at preſent, and to add 10,000 crowns per annum. She never gave me the leaſt uneaſineſs during my whole reign, and ſhe merits every attention and reſpect for her many and unſhaken virtues. I leave to my brother Henry 200,000 crowns; the Chryſopraſe ring ſet with diamonds, which I wear; one of my moſt beautiful Chryſtal chandeliers; and fifty anthiels of Hungarian wine. To my brother Ferdinand 50,000 crowns, a coach, and eight horſes. To princeſs Amelia 10,000 crowns per annum, and a ſervice of ſilver. To princeſs Henry 6000 crowns per annum. To princeſs Ferdinand 10,000 crowns per annum, and a box ſet with diamonds. To the ducheſs-dowager of Brunſwick 50,000 crowns, and a ſilver ſervice. To the duke of Brunſwick two Engliſh horſes, and their furniture. To duke Ferdinand a handſome ſnuff-box, garniſhed with brilliants, be-

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'cauſe

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'cauſe he has always been my friend. To prince Frederick of Brunſwick 10,000 crowns. To the ducheſs of Würtemberg, mother to the grand ducheſs, 20,000 crowns. To the prince, her conſort, a diamond ring. To the dowager landgravine of Caſſel 10,000 crowns. I recommend to you, my dear nephew, my brave and noble army; all my old officers, particularly thoſe who were about me; all my houſehold, and my ſervants; let them ſerve you; and if they are old, endeavour to provide for them. My firſt battalion of life-guards ſhall have two crowns each man; the ſtaff-officers each a medal, repreſenting one of the moſt memorable actions of the war of ſeven years, that they may remember me, and their own glory. The little legacies that I have left are not out of the treaſury. That is not mine: it belongs to the ſtate. Look upon it always as ſuch, my dear nephew. Theſe legacies proceed from my ſavings, and I hope you will fulfil my laſt requeſts. To be a king is a chance, but never forget that you are a man. I flatter myſelf, that there will be no diſagreement in my family. Private views ſhould be forgotten for the well-being of the ſtate. Let harmony reign among you, for the honour and glory of your anceſtors, and for the common good.'

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Character of Frederick III. king of Prussia.—Farther account of his writings.—Additional anecdotes.

FREDERICK, the third king of Prussia, was in his person below the middle stature; but his limbs were well formed, and he had a healthful and vigorous constitution. The portraits of him, at different periods of his life, exhibit a considerable diversity of appearance. In his earlier years, he seems to have possessed a handsome countenance, and a graceful figure; but he was afterwards much altered by the perpetual fatigues that he underwent. In the latter part of his life, he stooped considerably in the shoulders; and his head was almost constantly inclined on one side. He was short-sighted; but he had fine blue eyes, full of vivacity and fire; and his look was expressive of uncommon keenness and penetration. His tone of voice was extremely clear and agreeable; and he spoke several of the modern languages with ease and gracefulness. He talked much, and with great sprightliness, and excelled at repartee. In conversation, his features acquired a degree of animation, which no portraits could exhibit; and though not generally fond of the company of

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women, he yet diſplayed great vivacity in converſing with ſuch ladies, as were poſſeſſed of any ſuperior merit. His intellectual powers were great; and when we advert to his ſituation, and to the little care that had been taken of his education, it muſt be acknowledged, that his literary acquiſitions were conſiderable. He had much general knowledge of the ſciences, and was extremely converſant with French writers in polite literature; but he is ſaid to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language; and he acquired his knowledge of the great authors of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, chiefly through the medium of French tranſlations. He was partial to the literature of France; but, in the latter years of his life, this partiality was much abated. His memory was uncommonly retentive; and he recollected the faces of thoſe ſoldiers, who had ſerved in his own regiment, when prince, more than forty years after. In his convivial hours, among his favourites, he was chearful, facetious, witty, and ſarcaſtic. But his railleries on thoſe, who were admitted to his familiarity, were often too biting; though he ſometimes met with very ſmart retorts, and which he generally received with good humour.

His conduct and character were very various, and at different times appeared in a very different light. His predominant paſſion was the love of glory; and this often led him to thoſe actions, which

which would extend his fame, and excite the attention of mankind, rather than to thoſe which were dictated by virtue. He may truly be ſaid to have been covetous of fame: for he wiſhed to unite in his own perſon the reputation of a great king, a wiſe legiſlator, an illuſtrious hero, an accompliſhed general, a fine poet, and an enlightened philoſopher. But though he loved fame more than virtue, and was more ſolicitous to extend his reputation, and to enlarge his dominions and his power, than to regulate his conduct by the principles of juſtice and humanity; he wiſhed, notwithſtanding, for the praiſe of virtue, even when his actions were in direct oppoſition to its cleareſt dictates. Hence it aroſe, that his conduct was often variable and inconſiſtent; and that the ſame man ſometimes appeared an unfeeling tyrant, and at other times mild, gentle, and humane. CHAP. XXXVIII.

One great object of his aim appears always to have been, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and in this he would probably have ſucceeded much more than he did, if his conduct, at the beginning of his reign, had not ſo ſtrongly excited the jealouſy and apprehenſion of his neighbours, and produced ſo formidable a confederacy againſt him. There is reaſon to believe, that he had formed great ſchemes, which the number of his enemies prevented him from being able to put in execution. Had not France and

Ruſſia

CHAP. XXXVIII. Ruſſia united againſt him, he might, perhaps, have totally cruſhed the houſe of Auſtria, and overturned the whole Germanic ſyſtem.

ACTIVE, enterprizing, indefatigable, and intrepid, he kept his neighbours in continual alarm; and their apprehenſions of him were the greater, becauſe he ſeemed ſcarcely to ſcruple any means that would effectuate his purpoſes. In the conduct of his affairs, he poſſeſſed the moſt unremitting vigilance, the moſt unwearied induſtry, and the keeneſt ſagacity in ſeizing thoſe deciſive moments, which were the moſt favourable to the promotion of his views. At periods, and in ſituations, of uncommon difficulty, and uncommon danger, he diſplayed the higheſt degree of courage, aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and the greateſt magnanimity. No dangers, no difficulties, no fatigues, could deter him from the proſecution of thoſe ſchemes, to which he was prompted by his ambition, and his love of fame. In attention to his army, to his government, and to the general concerns of his kingdom, he was probably the moſt indefatigable prince that ever exiſted. Every department of government was under his own immediate inſpection; and the moſt minute particulars of national domeſtic policy did not eſcape his obſervation. And, notwithſtanding the many faults in his character, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that no prince then in the world employed

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ſo much time and attention as FREDERICK did, for the laſt twenty years of his life, in promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the general proſperity of his dominions, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his mode of government, and with the maintenance of his own power and authority.

As he was born heir to a deſpotic monarchy, and trained up from his infancy in military ideas, theſe circumſtances ought to be taken into conſideration in judging of his character. But with the taſte for literature, and the diſtinguiſhed talents that he poſſeſſed, he would probably have been a better man, and a better king, if he had not ſo early imbibed the pernicious ſcepticiſm of VOLTAIRE. Though he wrote againſt Machiavel in his youth, he yet appears to have adopted much Machiavelian policy; and, on many occaſions, his conduct appeared to be more characterized by craft and ſubtilty, than by generoſity, or true dignity of mind. The caſe of baron Trenck, his treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony, and other inſtances, alſo afford evidence of too convincing a nature, that he could occaſionally be guilty of great cruelty.

His talents as a general were of the very higheſt order. In this character, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the rapidity of his marches, his ſkill in the art of encampment, and the dexterity of his manœuvres; by the fertility of his expedients, and his extenſive knowledge

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of military ſcience; and by the promptitude with which he availed himſelf, even in the heat of action, of every circumſtance that could be turned to his advantage. He was ſometimes chargeable with raſhneſs; but it was in thoſe caſes, in which he had ſome important object in view, for the promotion of his general deſigns; and, in ſuch caſes, he ſacrificed the lives of his men, with a readineſs that reflected no honour on his character.

THOUGH naturally and generally parſimonious, he was occaſionally magnificent and liberal. He was alſo kind to his domeſtics, if they properly diſcharged the duties of their ſtations; and manifeſted a great attachment to ſome of his generals, and others, whom he favoured with his friendſhip. His love of muſic accompanied him through life; and except at thoſe times when the circumſtances of war, or other affairs of importance, rendered it impracticable, he attended his concerts with almoſt as much uniformity and exactneſs, as his military reviews. His ableſt muſical performers were with him in the camp; and in his moſt active and buſy campaigns, he always devoted ſome time to muſical performances, and to the purſuits of literature. With all his faults, he was undoubtedly a great king, poſſeſſed of very ſplendid qualities; and, indeed, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and extraordinary

ordinary princes, of whom the records of hiſtory have preſerved to us any memorial. CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of ſeveral of the literary performances of the king of Pruſſia, I have already given ſome account. His poetical compoſitions, which, excepting his poem on the Art of War, conſiſt chiefly of odes and epiſtles, have paſſed through many editions, under the title of OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI. There are variations in the different editions; and an edition was printed at Lyons, in 1760, which contains ſome paſſages, that were omitted in moſt of the editions printed at Potſdam, in order to avoid giving offence to foreign courts. The works publiſhed in his own time, both in proſe and in verſe, were collected together, and printed at Amſterdam, in 1790, in four volumes, octavo, under the title of "Oeuvres Primitives de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe; ou Collection des Ouvrages qu'il publia pendant ſon regne." The firſt volume contains his Anti-Machiavel, Military Inſtructions for the Generals of his Army, and his correſpondence with M. de la Motte-Fouquet. The ſecond volume contains his Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh. In the third volume are his poems; and in the fourth a variety of pieces in proſe, philoſophical, moral, hiſtorical, critical, and literary; particularly Reflexions on the military talents and cha-

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racter of Charles XII. king of Sweden; a Diſcourſe on War; Letters on Education, and on the love of our country; and a Diſcourſe on German literature [P].

In his 'Inſtructions for the Generals of his Army,' Frederick has diſplayed great military knowledge; and ſome paſſages in theſe inſtruc-

[P] Frederick, though not a believer in revealed religion, was not an atheiſt. In his Diſcourſe on German literature is the following paſſage: 'All things, even to the vegetation 'of a blade of graſs, prove the exiſtence of a Deity; and 'if man enjoys a degree of intelligence, which he did not 'give to himſelf, this muſt ſtill more ſtrongly ſhew, that the 'Being from whom he derives every thing, has a mind in'finitely more profound, and more immenſe, than the mind 'beſtowed on man.' *Oeuvres Primitives*, tome IV. p. 389. Paſſages to the ſame purpoſe occur in his Critical Examination of the *Syſteme de la Nature*. In his Diſcourſe on German Literature, he has ſhewn much prejudice againſt German literature and the German language; though ſome of his obſervations were highly worthy of the attention of the Germans. But Dr. Zimmerman ſays, 'Notwithſtanding Frederick's pre'dilection for foreign literature, he never ſlighted or deſpiſed 'the German nation. All his grand ideas were put in execu'tion by Germans; all his bold and immortal exploits per'formed with them. Nor did he ſcorn the German language: 'all letters concerning internal or foreign affairs, all the re'ports of his miniſters and generals, he ordered to be written 'in German; and in the field he ſpoke German with all his 'officers, even with thoſe who were natives of France. The 'Royal Academy of Berlin alone were obliged to write 'French; and at his table, and in his evening entertainments, 'he ſpoke nothing but French.' Select Views, vol. I. p. 111.

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tions are not unworthy of attention. 'If I were CHAP. XXXVIII.
'ſolely attentive,' ſays he, 'to my own glory,
'I would always make my own country the
'theatre of war: for there every inhabitant is a
'ſpy; ſo that it is impoſſible for the enemy to
'take a ſingle ſtep, of which I am not inſtantly
'informed; and I can without danger harraſs
'and perplex him with large detachments, as
'often as I think fit.'—'When we make war in
'a neutral country, there appears to be no ad-
'vantage on either ſide. It, therefore, depends
'upon each army, to try which of the two can
'moſt effectually obtain the confidence and
'friendſhip of the inhabitants.'—'If you are
'in a Proteſtant country, as in Saxony for in-
'ſtance, you are to act the part of a zealous
'protector of Lutheraniſm; and to inſpire the
'common people, whoſe ſimplicity is eaſily im-
'poſed upon, with religious enthuſiaſm. If the
'people are Roman Catholics, you are to talk of
'nothing but toleration, and throw all the blame
'of the violent animoſity between the different
'ſects of Chriſtians upon the prieſts of each;
'who, notwithſtanding their diſputes, are agreed
'in the fundamental articles of faith. With
'regard to detachments in a neutral country,
'you are to be very circumſpect, unleſs you are
'well aſſured of the good will of the inhabi-
'tants, or at leaſt of the greateſt part of them.
'In an enemy's country, as in Bohemia and

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'Moravia, it behoves you to act with infinite caution; and, for the reaſons mentioned, never 'to truſt a detachment at any conſiderable diſ-'tance from your main body. You muſt carry 'on all your operations under your own eye. 'Your light troops are to be chiefly employed 'in eſcorting your convoys. You are not to 'expect ever to be able to gain the affection of 'the inhabitants. The Huſſites, in the circle 'of Koningſgratz, are the only people that can 'be made at all uſeful. As for the nobility, 'they are all traitors, notwithſtanding they pre-'tend to be well diſpoſed towards us. It is 'their intereſt to ſide with the houſe of Auſtria, 'and therefore it were fooliſh to depend upon 'any of them[248].'

IN the third article of his Inſtructions, Frederick ſays, 'As ſoon as you enter an enemy's 'country, you muſt ſeize all the brewers and 'diſtillers who are to be found in the neighbour-'hood, and oblige them in particular to furniſh 'gin, that the ſoldier may be ſupplied with a li-'quor, without which he cannot poſſibly exiſt[249].' In the article relative to magazines and ſubſiſtence, he ſays, 'It is neceſſary to be very cir-'cumſpect in the choice of commiſſaries; for

[248] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, &c. p. 74—77. Oeuvres Primitives de Frederic II. tome I. p. 184, 185, 186. [249] Ibid. p. 16.

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'if theſe gentlemen happen to be raſcals, the 'ſtate will ſuffer conſiderably. You muſt, 'therefore, endeavour to find a ſuperintendant 'of known probity, who will frequently and 'minutely examine their proceedings[250].' CHAP. XXXVIII.

In the 'Inſtructions for the Light Troops,' the king ſays, that the firſt care of an officer, commanding an advanced guard, muſt be, 'to 'ſurround his poſt with a chain of ſentries, or '*videts*, in ſuch a manner, that nothing can 'poſſibly approach him without his knowledge. 'Videts are to be double; and—it being ſup-'poſed, that one of the two videts is a man to 'be depended on, the officer will remember to 'give him orders, that when he has any thing 'to report, he muſt always diſpatch his comrade 'to the guard, leſt being left alone he might 'deſert. The two videts ought never to ſepa-'rate, unleſs when one goes with a report to the 'guard. If one of them ſhould attempt to de-'ſert, the other muſt inſtantly blow out his 'brains; for he muſt be anſwerable for the fide-'lity of his comrade[251].'

One of the king's inſtructions, relative to the methods to be employed for obtaining intelligence of the enemy, deſerves to be noticed for its ſingular iniquity. 'When you find it very

[250] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, &c. p. 9, 10. [251] Ibid. p. 176—183.

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'neceſſary,' ſays Frederick, 'yet very difficult, 'to gain any intelligence of the enemy, there is 'another expedient, though a cruel one. You 'take a rich burgher, poſſeſſed of lands, a wife, 'and children. You oblige him to go to the 'enemy's camp, as if to complain of hard treat-'ment, and to take along with him as his ſer-'vant, a ſpy who ſpeaks the language of the 'country; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that, 'in caſe he does not bring the ſpy back with 'him, after having remained a ſufficient time in 'the enemy's camp, that you will ſet fire to his 'houſe, and maſſacre his wife and children. I 'was forced to have recourſe to this cruel expe-'dient, when we were encamped at ——.

'IT ANSWERED MY PURPOSE[452].' To compel a peaceable citizen to act as a traitor to his own country, and to induce him to do this, by aſſuring him, that otherwiſe his houſe would be fired, and his wife and children maſſacred, is an idea that could have been ſuggeſted only by a man, who ſuppoſed, that the moſt ſacred ties, divine and human, were to be ſacrificed to the ambition of princes.

IN 1788, were publiſhed at Berlin, in fifteen volumes, octavo, 'Oeuvres Poſthumes de Fre-'deric II. Roi de Pruſſe.' The two firſt volumes

[452] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, &c. p. 70. Oeuvres Primitives, p. 181, 182.

contain

contain the History of his own Time, to the year 1745. The third and fourth volumes contain his History of the Seven Years War. The fifth contains Memoirs from the Peace of Hubertsbourg, in 1763, to the Partition of Poland in 1775. The sixth contains Considerations on the present State of the political Powers of Europe, an Essay on Forms of Government, and on the Duties of Sovereigns; Dialogues of the Dead [Q]; a Critical Examination of the *Système de la Nature*; a Preface to the Henriade; a Dissertation on the Innocence of Errors of the Understanding; and some poetical epistles to M. Jordan. The seventh and eighth volumes contain poetical pieces, and some letters to Jordan and Voltaire. The remaining seven volumes contain a continuation of his correspondence, including letters to and from Fontenelle, Rollin, Voltaire, D'Argens, D'Alembert, Condorcet, and others. These Posthumous Works of the king,

[Q] One of these Dialogues of the Dead is between prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the prince of Lichtenstein; and in this dialogue the latter is represented as saying, when speaking of the supposed reveries of the French philosophers, 'Governments are all to be reformed. FRANCE 'IS TO BECOME A REPUBLIC, and a mathematician is to 'be her legislator; and these governing mathematicians are 'to regulate all the operations of the new republic by the 'doctrine of infinites. THIS REPUBLIC IS TO MAINTAIN PERPETUAL PEACE, AND TO SUBSIST WITHOUT AN ARMY.' Oeuvres Posthumes, tome VI. p. 104.

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though publiſhed at Berlin, by the authority of the Pruſſian court and miniſtry, were printed by ſubſcription. Another edition of his Poſthumous Works has been printed at Baſil; they have alſo been printed in the French language in London; and a tranſlation of them into Engliſh has been publiſhed by Mr. Holcroft, in thirteen volumes, octavo. In Mr. Holcroft's tranſlation are pieces not to be found in the foreign editions, and the letters are better arranged.

THE king of Pruſſia's Hiſtory of his own Times is undoubtedly a valuable work; but neither in his ſtatement of facts, nor in his delineation of characters, is Frederick always to be depended on. He is more impartial in his accounts of his campaigns, than in his repreſentation of the views with which he entered into his wars; but he has not done juſtice to ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed commanders, in the Auſtrian ſervice, who were employed to act againſt him. His conduct in Saxony, and reſpecting the partition of Poland, was too atrocious to be fairly repreſented by himſelf; and it is ſufficiently manifeſt from his Hiſtory, that he could not forgive the elector of Saxony, nor his ſubjects, nor his miniſter, becauſe they were unwilling to join in ſuch meaſures, as were beſt calculated to promote the aggrandizement of the houſe of Brandenburgh.

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FREDERICK wrote two prefaces to the History of his own Time, one in 1746, and another in 1775. In his firſt preface is the following paſſage: 'You will read in this work of treaties 'made and broken; and on this head I ought 'to obſerve to you, that we muſt act in ſubor- 'dination to our means and our faculties. When 'our intereſts change, we muſt change with 'them. Our employment is to watch for the 'good of our people; and the moment we find 'that they are endangered by any alliance, we 'ſhould break it immediately, rather than expoſe 'them to hazard. In doing this, the ſovereign 'ſacrifices himſelf to the advantage of his ſub- 'jects. All the annals of the univerſe furniſh 'inſtances of this; and, indeed, it is impoſſible 'that one can act otherwiſe. Thoſe who con- 'demn this principle of conduct, are ſuch as 'regard an engagement or word given to be 'ſacred. They are right; and I think with 'them, ſo far as it is applied to individuals: for 'a man who has given his word to another, even 'though he has made an inconſiderate promiſe, 'which may tend greatly to his own prejudice, 'is bound to keep it, becauſe honour is above 'intereſt; but a prince, who enters into an en- 'gagement, does not commit himſelf alone; 'otherwiſe he would be exactly in the caſe of 'the private individual; but he expoſes large 'ſtates, and great provinces, to a thouſand evils.

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'It is then better for the ſovereign to break a 'treaty, than to occaſion the ruin of his people.' This preface was publiſhed by count Hertzberg in 1787. The ſecond preface written by him was prefixed to his *Hiſtoire de Mon Temps*, as publiſhed at Berlin. The two prefaces are conſiderably different; but both of them contain apologies for the breach of treaties; though the arguments are ſomewhat differently ſtated.

IN his review of the different ſtates and princes of Europe, at the commencement of his Hiſtory, Frederick has the following paſſage: 'Of all 'the European nations, the Engliſh was then 'the moſt opulent. Its commerce embraced 'the whole earth; its riches were exceſſive; its 'reſources almoſt inexhauſtible: but though en-'dowed with all theſe advantages, it did not 'hold that rank among nations which appeared 'to be its due. George II. elector of Hanover, 'then reigned in England. He poſſeſſed virtues 'and abilities; but his paſſions were warm to 'exceſs. He was firm in his reſolutions, but 'rather avaritious than œconomical; he was 'capable of labour, incapable of patience, vio-'lent, and brave; but he governed England 'according to the intereſts of his electorate [R];

[R] This aſſertion of Frederick's is too well grounded. Since the death of queen Anne, ſome of the moſt important intereſts of Great Britain have repeatedly been ſacrificed to German connexions, and to the private views of the elector of Hanover.

'and

'and he was too little master of himself to CHAP. XXXVIII.
'manage a nation whose idol was liberty[353].'
In another part of his History, speaking of the period of the American war, and of the British house of commons, Frederick says, 'A million 'sterling, which the nation paid annually to the 'king for the support of his civil list, was not 'sufficient to satisfy the venality of the members 'of parliament. This sum, destined for the 'maintenance of the royal family, of the court, 'and of the ambassadors, being annually em-'ployed to rob the nation of its energy, there re-'mained to king George III. for his household, 'and the support of the royal dignity at London, 'only the five hundred thousand crowns which 'he drew from his electorate of Hanover. The 'English nation, degraded by its own sovereign, 'henceforth had no other will but his[354].'
Speaking afterwards of the defeat of general Burgoyne, and the capture of him and the British army by the Americans, the Prussian monarch says, 'Such an event as this would formerly 'have made the whole nation revolt against the 'government, and even caused a revolution. It 'produced nothing now but a few feeble mur-'murs: so much more powerful was the love of 'riches than the love of their country; and so

[353] Histoire de Mon Temps, tome I. p. 47, 48.
[354] Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 189.

'much

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'much did this nation, once ſo noble and ſo generous, prefer perſonal advantage to the general welfare. The king of England, who pertinaciouſly ſupported the ſyſtem of Bute, was but rendered the more obſtinate by the difficulties which continually ſtarted up. Little ſenſible of the misfortunes which would fall upon his people, his ardour for the execution of his projects increaſed; and that he might gain a ſuperiority over the Americans, he negociated in every court of Germany, in order to draw from them ſuch ſuccours as they might be able to afford him[855].'

To the anecdotes of FREDERICK which have been already given, in ſeveral parts of this work, I ſhall here add a few more, which may tend, in ſome degree, ſtill farther to illuſtrate his character.

AFTER the ſecond Sileſian war, the king travelled into different parts of his dominions, and among other places arrived at Cleves, where he ordered the public accounts to be laid before him. On examining them, he found that a conſiderable annual ſum was paid, out of the revenue ariſing from the ducal foreſts, to the monks of the monaſtery of Minorites in that town; and inquiring on what account, was informed, that

[855] Ibid. p. 193, 194.

the money was left by former dukes, that a certain number of maſſes ſhould be ſaid daily for their ſouls. Upon this the king expreſſed a deſire to ſee the monaſtery; and being conducted thither, he found the monks arranged in two rows; and, immediately upon his entrance, they ſtruck up the Ambroſian hymn. 'Who are 'theſe?' ſaid Frederick. 'They are,' ſaid the prior, 'the monks who read maſſes for the ſouls 'of the late dukes, in order to procure their 'releaſe from purgatory.' 'My poor couſins 'continue a long time in purgatory,' ſaid the king; 'can you tell when they will be releaſed?' 'That, ſire,' replied the prior, 'is a point very 'difficult to be determined; but the moment 'that I am acquainted with their being removed 'out of purgatory, I will immediately diſpatch 'a meſſenger to Potſdam, to give your majeſty 'information of their deliverance.' The king ſmiled, and turning to one of his attendants, ſaid, 'There is no doing any thing with this 'man: he has ſtudied among the Jeſuits[255].'

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In a Roman Catholic town, in Sileſia, ſeveral of the ſilver offerings, dedicated to the virgin Mary, were diſcovered to be miſſing. A ſoldier was ſuſpected, and the things being found in his poſſeſſion, he was condemned to death as a ſacri-

[255] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 21, 22. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 146, 147.

legious

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legious robber. But he reſolutely denied the commiſſion of any theft; aſſerting, that the virgin, out of compaſſion to his poverty, had preſented him with the offerings. The ſentence, however, as uſual, was laid before the king for his confirmation; but upon reading the caſe, and the defence of the ſoldier, he ordered the opinions of ſeveral Popiſh clergymen to be taken, whether, according to their religion, the miracle was impoſſible? They replied, that the caſe was extraordinary, but not impoſſible. The king then ſaid, that the ſoldier could not be put to death, becauſe the divines of his own religion allowed that it was poſſible, that the offerings might have been given him by the virgin Mary, as he had ſtated. 'But,' added Frederick, 'I 'ſtrictly charge him, upon pain of death, never 'to receive hereafter any preſent from the virgin 'Mary, or from any ſaint whatever.'

AT a review in Pruſſia, a woman made application to the king, requeſting that he would grant her ſon, who was a private ſoldier in the guards, leave of abſence, that he might have an opportunity of viſiting her. The king did not comply with her requeſt; but, upon his return to Potſdam, he informed the ſoldier, that his mother was in good health, and deſired to be affectionately remembered to him. The following year the king was again in Pruſſia, and the woman came again to requeſt the ſame favour.

The

The king knew her immediately; and, before she could speak a word, told her, that 'her son 'was well, and would be very glad to see her 'at Potsdam[257].' CHAP. XXXVIII.

FREDERICK was one day conversing with an English gentleman, about the state of affairs in England, at a time when a great part of the nation appeared, from the public prints, to be engaged in a violent opposition to the government. After various inquiries and remarks, the king began to talk in a very high tone, concerning the measures which he would have adopted, if he had been king of England. The Englishman coolly replied, 'If your majesty were to be king 'of England, you would not continue in your 'office three days.'

ONE evening, at the time when he had regular supper parties, he facetiously put the question to each of those who supped with him, what he would do if he were king of Prussia? In general, they made very flattering answers; but when he put the question to D'Argens, the marquis replied, 'By my faith, sire, I would sell my king-'dom, in order to purchase a province of France 'with it[258].'

A major-general in the Prussian service, who was an able officer, and a man of merit, was

[257] Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 202.

[258] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, vol. IV. p. 6.

observed

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obſerved frequently to ſpeak in very ſtrong terms of the bleſſings of liberty, and the humiliating chains of deſpotiſm. This being reported to the king, Frederick wrote to him, 'Monſ. major-general, I muſt beg that you will no longer continue to play the part of Brutus in my dominions; or, otherwiſe, I ſhall be obliged to conſpire againſt your liberty[159].'

IN the year 1753, a literary man ſent to the king the plan of a literary work, and a letter, in which he informed him, that Voltaire and Monteſquieu had expreſſed their approbation of his deſign, and had ſubſcribed to his work; but that he did not chooſe to reſolve upon publication, till he had alſo the honour of his majeſty's name. Frederick wrote back: 'You are too difficult: the names that you have mentioned to me, are worth more than thoſe of all the kings in Europe. I will, however, add my name to your liſt, that I may have my name enrolled with theirs[160].'

THE princeſs Elizabeth Chriſtina Ulrica of Brunſwick, who was married, in 1765, to the prince-royal of Pruſſia, was afterwards divorced from him, and kept in a kind of confinement at Stettin. At the time when this princeſs was in that ſituation, ſhe gave orders to have ſome rich

[159] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, vol. IV. p. 25.
[160] Ibid. p. 7, 8.

ſtuffs

ſtuffs ſent from Lyons, and directed to her at Stettin. As foreign ſtuffs pay a very large duty in the Pruſſian dominions, the collector of the cuſtoms thought proper to detain them, becauſe the princeſs had given no directions for the payment of the duty. The princeſs was highly incenſed at this; but ſent word to the collector, that ſhe would ſatisfy his demands, and deſired him to come himſelf with the ſtuffs for that purpoſe. Her orders were obeyed; but the collector was no ſooner introduced into her preſence, than ſhe took the ſtuffs from him with great indignation, and at the ſame time gave him two or three cuffs in the face. The collector, enraged at this treatment, addreſſed a long and very formal memorial to the king, ſetting forth how much he had been diſhonoured in the performance of his duty. To this complaint Frederick returned, in his own hand, the following anſwer: 'The loſs of the duty muſt be 'placed to my account; the ſtuffs muſt remain 'with the princeſs; the cuffs with him that re'ceived them. As to the ſuppoſed diſhonour, 'I cancel it at the requeſt of the complainant: 'but it is of itſelf null; for the white hand of 'a fair lady cannot poſſibly diſhonour the face 'of a cuſtom-houſe officer[161].'

[161] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 23, 24.

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'THE lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice, and the lady of the preſident of the chamber of revenue, at Cleves, had frequent diſputes about precedency; and the lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice inſiſted, that, in all public aſſemblies, ſhe had a right to take place of the other. This enraged her rival to ſuch a degree, that ſhe wrote to the king, and deſired that his majeſty would determine, which of the two ladies had a right to walk firſt. Frederick returned the following laconic anſwer: 'Let 'the greateſt fool walk firſt.'

MONS. T. a lieutenant-colonel and engineer in the French ſervice, deſerted, and came to Potſdam, where he was preſented to the king under the aſſumed title of count D. Frederick finding him to be a man of talents, accepted his ſervices, and gave him good appointments; and the pretended count introduced a lady, under the character of his wife, to the queen and princeſſes. The princeſs-royal was particularly civil to her, and often invited her to her table. About a year after the arrival of this couple, the pretended counteſs died; and not long after, to the aſtoniſhment of every one at Potſdam, the count's real wife made her appearance; and then it came out, that the deceaſed was a courtezan, whom he had picked up at Paris. This ſtory made much noiſe, and ſoon reached the king's ears, who

who thereupon wrote the Frenchman the following letter: CHAP. XXXVIII.

'Lieutenant-colonel count D. or Mr. T.

'When I thought you could be uſeful to me, 'it was a matter of indifference to me whether 'you had a wife, or a miſtreſs. With my uſual 'indulgence, therefore, I overlook your inſo- 'lence in introducing her to the royal family. 'She is dead, and the affair is at an end. I ad- 'viſe you, however, to reflect a little, before you 'think of introducing this other lady, who has 'juſt made her appearance. Content yourſelf 'with ſerving me faithfully. At your age and 'mine, it is time to have done with the women.

'FREDERICK[201].'

A PROFESSOR of the univerſity of Halle, named Eberhard, had been appointed miniſter of Charlottenbourg by the conſiſtory. But the inhabitants of that town, who were deſirous of having another perſon for their miniſter, proteſted againſt the appointment, alleging, that Eberhard had written an apology for Socrates. The conſiſtory, however, rejected the repreſentations of the people, who thereupon preſented a petition to the king, in which they ſtated, that they could

[201] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 68, 69.

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not truſt the care of their ſouls to a man, who had maintained, in a public writing, that Socrates, though a heathen, would be ſaved. Frederick returned their petition, with theſe words added at the bottom: 'It is my pleaſure that 'Socrates ſhould be ſaved, and that Eberhard 'ſhould be your miniſter [263].'

A CLERGYMAN, who was miniſter at Valangin, had been turned out of his office, for having preached againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. He applied to the king for redreſs, who ordered him to be reinſtated in his benefice, and exhorted the people of Valangin to act, for the future, in a more tolerant and rational manner. Great oppoſition, however, was ſtill made to the clergyman, and a remonſtrance upon the ſubject was preſented to the king, in which it was ſtated, that the people were determined to hear nothing ſaid againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. As it was an affair of religion, Frederick did not chooſe to engage any farther in the conteſt; and, therefore, returned the remonſtrance, with theſe words added at the bottom: 'If my loving ſub-'jects in Valangin chooſe to be damned eternally, 'I have nothing to ſay againſt it [264].'

THE magiſtrate of an inconſiderable village in the electorate of Brandenburgh, had committed

[263] Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 32.

[264] Ibid. p. 33, 34. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 112, 113.

a burgher

a burgher to priſon, who was charged with having blaſphemed God, the king, and the magiſtrate. The burgomaſter reported the ſame to the king, in order to know what puniſhment ſuch a criminal deſerved. In the margin of the priſoner's caſe, which was tranſmitted to him, Frederick wrote with his own hand the following ſentence: 'That the priſoner has blaſphemed God, is a 'ſure proof that he does not know him; that 'he has blaſphemed me, I willingly forgive; 'but as he has blaſphemed the magiſtrate of the 'town, he ſhall be puniſhed in an exemplary 'manner; and, therefore, I order him to be 'committed priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, 'for half an hour[265].'

In the courſe of his ſecond war with the empreſs-queen, we are told, that his valet de chambre was prevailed upon to attempt to poiſon him. Frederick, who is ſaid to have been an excellent phyſiognomiſt, obſerving ſomething unuſual in the look of the man that morning, and that he trembled when he gave him his chocolate, he fixed his eyes upon him with great ſteadfaſtneſs, and ſaid to him at the ſame time, 'I am certain, that you have been bribed to 'poiſon me.' The man denied it; but the king gave the chocolate to a dog, and the animal died

[265] Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 161, 162. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 131.

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in about two hours. He did not, however, put the man to death; but having learned from him in what manner he had been bribed, and by whom, he contented himſelf with ſending him priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, from whence he was releaſed ſome years after[166].'

THE following anecdote is related by Dr. Zimmerman. One day, while the king was alone in his apartment at Sans Souci, he happened to fall aſleep. Before the window, which was open, ſtood a box containing a large quantity of ducats, rolled up in different pieces of paper. One of his lackies, who chanced to paſs the window at that time, ſeeing the king aſleep, took a rouleau of the ducats without any ceremony, and walked off with it. Frederick, however, ſoon diſcovered that he had been robbed; and calling one of his huſſars in waiting, ſaid to him, 'I have 'loſt a rouleau of ducats, and I deſire to know 'who has taken it.' The huſſar, in great conſternation, aſſured the king, that he knew nothing at all of the matter; adding, that his majeſty, perhaps, laboured under a miſtake, and that it ſeemed impoſſible that any one could take the ducats in his preſence. 'If you cannot,' replied the king, 'tell me the name of the thief, 'I will make you reſponſible for the robbery.'

[166] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 15.

The

The huſſar repreſented to his majeſty, that he could not anſwer for what paſſed in his apartment when he was not there. CHAP. XXXVIII.

'I am not unjuſt,' ſaid Frederick; 'but as you are well acquainted with your comrades, you muſt know whether there be a thief amongſt them.' The huſſar inſtantly retired, made diligent inquiries to diſcover the guilty perſon, and at length ſucceeded. The king, when the man was brought before him, addreſſed him in the following words: 'You villain, you have robbed me of a rouleau of ducats. Hold—here is another rouleau of the ſame value. Quit the palace this moment, and get out of my territories as faſt as you can. Loſe not a ſingle moment; for if you remain here long you will infallibly be hanged[167].'

FREDERICK being once informed, that a corporal in his guards, a handſome young fellow, and at the ſame time very brave, wore, from vanity, a watch chain, to which, for want of a watch, he had affixed a leaden bullet; in order to know the truth of this circumſtance, ſent for him under ſome pretext or other. 'Corporal,' ſaid the king, 'you muſt be œconomical, as well as brave, to have ſaved ſo much of your pay as to purchaſe a watch.' 'I flatter myſelf,'

[167] Converſations with the late King of Pruſſia, with Anecdotes, p. 125, 126.

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replied the corporal, 'that I am brave; but my 'watch is worth very little.' Frederick pulling out his watch, which was of gold, set with diamonds, said, 'My watch points to five; 'what is it o'clock by yours?' The corporal, with a trembling hand, drawing out the leaden bullet from his fob, replied, 'Mine, sire, points 'neither to five nor to six o'clock; but it tells 'me plainly what kind of a death I must die for 'your majesty.' The king was so highly pleased with this answer, that he immediately gave the corporal his own watch, saying, 'Here, take 'this, in order that you may see every day the 'hour, before the time comes when you are to 'die for me[208].'

'ONE of his hussars had robbed him, at different times, of sums to the amount of twenty thousand crowns; and had also received presents from several foreign ministers resident at Berlin, for communicating to them intelligence. The king, having received information of this, sent for the hussar, reproached him with his crimes, and said, 'You have robbed and deceived me; 'as a punishment for your ill conduct, I make 'you a drummer.' Frederick then called an adjutant, and immediately gave orders for his being made a drummer. The hussar retired with the adjutant, went into his apartment under pretence of fetching something, and shot himself

[208] Zimmerman's Conversations and Anecdotes, p. 137.

through

through the head. When the adjutant told the king what had happened, he appeared much affected, and exclaimed, 'My God! tell me, 'then, did I treat this man too harshly [169]?' CHAP. XXXVIII.

SOME young females, who were employed to represent the attendants of queens at the opera-house, petitioned the king to grant them an annual pension, and thereby place them upon a similar footing with the other persons employed at that theatre; alleging, that they could not live on what they received for each representation. Frederick replied, 'You have done ill to address 'yourselves to me. This affair only concerns 'your own kings and queens. You must apply 'yourselves to them: for I have laid it down as 'a maxim, never to intermeddle in the affairs 'of foreign courts [170].'

A FEMALE singer of his opera-house, who was a great favourite, made her escape, in order to return to Italy. Frederick sent some persons after her, who came up with her on the frontiers of Tyrol, in the dominions of the empress-queen; who, on application, made no difficulty of delivering her up to the Prussian agents. She was carried back to Potsdam, and on her being brought before the king, he said to her; 'Madam; 'why have you quitted me?' The poor singer,

[169] Zimmerman's Conversations and Anecdotes, p. 127.
[170] Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 330, 331. edit. 12mo.

extremely

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extremely terrified, did not anſwer a ſingle word, but threw herſelf at the king's feet: 'Do not 'be afraid,' ſaid Frederick: 'I only ſent for 'you to bid you adieu. Now you may go where 'you pleaſe[271].'

IT is ſaid, that after Frederick had firſt written his Hiſtory of the War of Seven Years, it was all burnt by the ſtupidity of a page; who threw himſelf on his knees, when he informed the king of his misfortune. Frederick only ſaid to him, 'So, I muſt write this hiſtory again.' Dr. Zimmerman ſays, 'Luccheſini aſſured me, that this 'anecdote was true; and that Frederick had 'really written a ſecond time the Hiſtory of the 'War of Seven Years[272].'

ON ſome occaſions the king diſcovered great ſenſibility. He was much attached to lieutenant-general count Rothenburgh; and, in the latter years of that general's life, ſeemed not to be eaſy, if he was long without his company. During the general's laſt illneſs, Frederick frequently ſat by his bed-ſide for hours. When he received the news of the general's death, he haſtily left his palace, half-dreſſed, and croſſed the ſtreet to the general's houſe. He ſhed tears at the ſight of his body, but ſtill ſeemed to entertain hopes that he was not dead; for he ſent immediately

[271] Ibid. p. 263, 264.

[272] Converſations with the late King of Pruſſia, p. 110.

for

for a ſurgeon, ordered a vein to be opened, and held the baſon himſelf. When he found, that the general could not be brought again to life, he left the houſe in great agitation, indulged his grief in private, and would ſcarcely ſee any company for ſeveral days. CHAP. XXXVIII.

FREDERICK had a very high reſpect for the memory of the great elector, Frederick William, whom he conſidered as the greateſt prince of his family. When an antient cathedral was demoliſhed, in which ſome of the electors had been interred, their coffins were obliged to be removed; and the king gave orders, that the coffin of the great elector ſhould be opened. He was preſent himſelf on the occaſion, attended by two of his aids-du-camp. He viewed the corpſe of the elector, which was well preſerved, with great attention, for a conſiderable time, without ſpeaking a word. At length, taking hold of the elector's hand, he ſaid, with much emotion, 'Gentlemen, he did great things!—Shut the 'coffin [273].'

IN the ſecond Sileſian war, the king rode out, with very few attendants, to reconnoitre the enemy. A party of pandours lay in ambuſcade in a wood, through which he was obliged to paſs, and who fired ſeveral times at him, and

[273] Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 36, 37. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederic the Great, vol. II. p. 66, 67.

thoſe

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thoſe who were with him, but without effect. At laſt a ſoldier, who was with the king, called out, 'Sire, ſave your life: a pandour behind the 'next tree is aiming at your majeſty.' The king turned round with great coolneſs, and ſeeing the pandour, who had juſt taken his aim, called out to him in a menacing tone, 'You!, you! 'there, Sir!' The pandour was ſo ſtruck with the king's look, manner, and commanding voice, that he immediately grounded his firelock, took off his hat, and ſtood in a reſpectful poſture, till the king had paſſed by [274].

AT the battle of Roſbach, the king ſaw a French grenadier, who though manifeſtly overpowered, defended himſelf with great gallantry, and refuſed to ſurrender; upon which the king rode up to him, and ſaid, 'Brave grenadier, are 'you invincible?' 'Yes, ſire,' replied the grenadier, 'if you were to command me [275].'

A FOREIGNER, who had ſettled in the Pruſſian dominions as a coloniſt, and who ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſo uſeful that the king would not willingly loſe him as a ſubject, took an opportunity of addreſſing him, when he was making one of his tours through his dominions, and told him, that he ſhould leave the country, with his wife and children, and go where he could be

[274] Latrobe, p. 231, 232.

[275] Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 27.

much

much better off. He hoped by this ſpeech to have induced the king to grant him ſome farther advantages; but Frederick coolly replied, 'You 'are perfectly right, my good friend; for if I 'knew a place, where I ſhould be better off than 'where I am, I would certainly go there my-'ſelf[276].' CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE king was one day looking out of a window, at the palace of Potſdam, when he ſaw a crowd of people aſſembled together, and reading a paper that was ſtuck againſt the wall. He ſent one of his pages to read it, and inform him what was the ſubject. The page returned, and acquainted him, that it was a libel againſt his majeſty, in which his character was very ſeverely treated. Frederick remarked, that the paper was placed ſo high, that people could not read it with any conveniency. He, therefore, ſent his page back, to take it down, and ſtick it up lower, that thoſe perſons, who paſſed that way, might read it more at their eaſe[277]. He was once informed, by an officious attendant, that a particular perſon had ſpoken ill of him. He aſked, if that perſon had a hundred thouſand men. He was anſwered, that he had not. 'Then,' ſaid the king, 'I can do nothing. If

[276] Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 114, 115,

[277] Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Pruſſe, tome IV. p. 23. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 161, 162.

he

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'he had a hundred thouſand men, I would de-'clare war againſt him[278].'

DR. Moore, ſpeaking of Frederick, ſays, 'He 'uſes a very large gold ſnuff-box, the lid orna-'mented with diamonds, and takes an immo-'derate quantity of Spaniſh ſnuff, the marks of 'which very often appear on his waiſtcoat and 'breeches. Theſe are alſo liable to be ſoiled by 'the paws of two or three Italian greyhounds, 'which he often careſſes[279].' He was much attached to dogs; and Mr. Latrobe informs us, that 'he had ſeveral of theſe animals of whom 'he was particularly fond, and in all his rooms 'were a number of ſmall leather balls, with 'which he uſed to play with them. One of 'them, called *Biche*, was his particular favourite, 'had been his companion in many of his cam-'paigns, and at her death he erected a ſmall 'monument to her memory, in his gardens at 'Potſdam[280].'

[278] Sherlock's Letters, p. 3.

[279] View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 236.

[280] Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 17.

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Obſervations on the Military eſtabliſhment of Pruſſia, and on the Pruſſian Government.—Concluſion.

THE military eſtabliſhment of the Pruſſian dominions, by which an army of at leaſt two hundred thouſand men is conſtantly kept up [s], is ſo much beyond what might naturally be expected in a country of ſuch moderate extent, that it cannot be ſupported without heavy taxes being laid upon the people [t], and a very rigid œconomy

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[s] The preciſe number of men in the Pruſſian army, including officers, in the year 1782, was 215,038. Hiſtorical Account of the Pruſſian army, by the baron de Helldorff, 8vo. Lond. 1783, p. 35.

[t] Dr. Moore obſerves, that 'all commodities are highly 'taxed in the Pruſſian dominions. At Berlin, though money 'is a great deal ſcarcer than at London or Paris, a ſtranger 'will find very little difference in the ordinary expence of 'living. There are no means by which his revenue can be 'augmented, which this king has not tried. He has taxed 'even the vanity of his ſubjects, and drawn conſiderable ſup-'plies ſince the beginning of his reign from that plentiful 'ſource. The rage which the Germans, above all men, have 'for titles, prompts many of the wealthy citizens to purchaſe 'that of ſome office about court; and although the king em-'ploys no perſon void of abilities, he never ſcruples to permit 'this kind of traffic. The title, however, is literally all that 'is ſold: for with regard to the real buſineſs of the office, 'the purchaſer has as little connexion with it after the bargain

'as

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œconomy being maintained on the part of the government. Of the manner in which the native troops in Pruſſia are raiſed, the following account has been given: 'The king's dominions are 'divided into a certain number of cantons, or 'diſtricts, each of which is obliged to raiſe a 'certain number of men. Not only each regi-

'as before. Though his majeſty ſcarcely ever conſults with 'any body, he has more nominal privy-counſellors than any 'king in Chriſtendom.' View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 198.

The ſubjects of Pruſſia are ſo heavily taxed, that the inhabitants even of Berlin are not able to ſupport a tolerable theatre. M. Rieſbeck ſays, in his Travels, (vol. III. p. 52, 53.) that 'though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garriſon, 'amount to one hundred and forty-two thouſand men, yet it 'is not able to keep up a good company of players.'—'You 'would imagine, that the officers alone, who are conſtantly 'from eight to nine hundred in number, would be ſufficient 'to keep up a good theatre; but it is not ſo. In truth, this 'is one of the moſt eminent marks of the poverty and par-'ſimony of the people of this place.'

It has been pretended, and Rieſbeck profeſſes to be of that opinion, that Frederick impoſed ſuch heavy taxes upon his people from maxims of a very refined policy, and in order to prevent luxury in his dominions. Undoubtedly, to lay ſuch heavy taxes upon commodities, as would hinder perſons even in the middle ranks of life from obtaining the conveniencies of it, was a very admirable method of preventing luxury. This will appear the more manifeſt, if it be farther conſidered, that all this was done, that the impoſer of theſe taxes might be enabled to ſupport an enormous army, to enſlave his own ſubjects, and to keep his neighbours in perpetual alarm.

'ment,

'ment, therefore, but each company of a regi-
'ment has its particular diſtrict: and at the age
'of ſixteen, every peaſant, mechanic, merchant,
'or citizen, has his name inſerted in the war-liſt
'of his canton; and is obliged, when called
'upon, to join the regiment, or company, be-
'longing to that diſtrict. For it is very ſeldom,
'and only upon extraordinary occaſions, that
'perſons enrolled in one canton are allowed to
'be turned over to another corps; not even to
'the guards; becauſe theſe have likewiſe their
'diſtricts for national recruits, and are ſupplied
'only with foreigners from the reſt of the army.
'When any regiment, or company, is in want
'of freſh men to ſupply the place of ſuch as are
'dead, or diſmiſſed from the ſervice, a field-
'officer, commonly the major of the regiment,
'goes into the canton, and chooſes the number
'requiſite to ſupply the deficiency. This buſi-
'neſs is conducted in a very impartial manner;
'the ſubjects ſelected being always ſuch as are
'the beſt fitted for ſervice, and who are the leaſt
'wanted at home. Among the peaſantry, the
'eldeſt ſon is uſually exempted from the ſervice,
'that he may be educated to huſbandry; and
'when a farmer has only one ſon, it ſeldom
'happens that he is forced into the army, unleſs
'he be remarkably tall and well made[281].'

[281] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment of the King of Pruſſia, p. 76, 77.

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DR. Moore ſays, 'Whatever number of ſons a peaſant may have, they are all liable to be taken into the ſervice, except one, who is left to aſſiſt in the management of the farm. The reſt wear badges from their childhood, to mark that they are deſtined to be ſoldiers, and ready to ſerve when the ſtate requires them.'—'The king, however, endeavours to ſave his own peaſantry, and draw as many recruits as he can from other countries. For this purpoſe, there are Pruſſian officers employed at Hamburgh, Franckfort, and other free towns of Germany. I have ſeen them alſo at Neufchatel, and at places near French garriſons, attempting to enliſt men, and pick up deſerters. The recruits procured in this manner, remain continually with the regiments in which they are placed; but the native Pruſſians have every year eight or nine months of furlough, during which they return to their fathers or brothers houſes, and work at the buſineſs of the farm, or gain their livelihood in any other way they pleaſe[u]. Here is at once an immenſe ſaving, 'in

[u] Count Hertzberg ſays, that 'it would not be difficult 'to ſhew, that the Pruſſian army is a true national militia, 'ſuch as that which the Romans had, and which the Engliſh 'have deſired to have, but never had.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 19. I perfectly agree with the count, that the Engliſh never had ſuch a national militia as that of Pruſſia; and I do moſt ſincerely hope, that they never will, in any period of the hiſtory

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'in the expence of the army, and a great gain to 'the ſtate from the labour of ſo many men [282].'

WITH reſpect to the diſcipline of the Pruſſian army, it has been obſerved, that 'in Pruſſia, the 'ſoldier is inſtructed in a very methodical man-'ner. When he is firſt brought to the regiment, 'he is placed under the care of a ſerjeant, who 'teaches him how to walk, and to hold up his 'head, as well as the uſe of his firelock; and he 'is every day inſpected by an officer, who is 'careful to ſee that he is properly inſtructed. 'For ſome days he is treated with gentleneſs, 'and allowance is made for his natural timidity 'and awkwardneſs. His duty is repeatedly ex-'plained to him, and he is ſoon taught to know, 'that his body is to move only at the word of 'command, and that at the word *halt*, he is to 'be as immoveable as a ſtatue. Indeed, the

hiſtory of the world, be in poſſeſſion of ſuch a militia. But I cannot agree with this noble writer in ſuppoſing, that the army of Pruſſia bears any very near reſemblance to the militia of the antient Romans. As to the militia of England, it is certainly not upon the footing that it ought to be; it is abundantly too much in the power of the crown; and, in framing our militia laws, the repreſentatives of the people have not paid that attention, which they ought to have done, to the intereſts of their conſtituents, and of their country. But ſtill the Engliſh militia is upon a footing extremely different from the ſtanding army of Pruſſia; and the ſtanding army of England depends wholly, for its ſubſiſtence, by the conſtitution, upon the votes of the Britiſh parliament.

[282] View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 200, 201.

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leading principle of his majeſty's military ſyſtem ſeems to be, to reduce his troops to the nature of machines, to teach them to have no will of their own, and to be as deaf and as pitileſs as their muſkets[283].' It is alſo farther remarked by Dr. Moore, that 'the common ſtate of ſlavery in Aſia, or that to which people of civil profeſſions in the moſt deſpotic countries are ſubject, is freedom in compariſon of this kind of military ſlavery [x].' The former are

[283] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 85.

[x] M. Rieſbeck, in his Travels, has taken much pains to convince his readers, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers enjoy more happineſs than is commonly ſuppoſed; and, indeed, the condition of a Pruſſian ſoldier, whoſe pay amounts to about two-pence halfpenny a day, and who, when performing his exerciſe, is ſubjected to puniſhment for coughing or for ſneezing, or for the moſt trifling and involuntary accident reſpecting his arms, muſt certainly be a very high ſtate of human felicity. But Frederick himſelf was extremely apprehenſive, that many of his men might be too perverſe to view their ſituation in this favourable light. For, in no other army that ever exiſted, were ſuch extraordinary pains taken for the prevention of Deſertion. Some of Frederick's regulations for this purpoſe may be ſeen in his Inſtructions for his generals; and Dr. Moore remarks, that 'however deſirous a Pruſſian ſoldier may be to deſert, the thing is almoſt impoſſible. The moment a man is miſſing, a certain number of cannons are fired, which announce the deſertion to the whole country. The peaſants have a conſiderable reward for ſeizing a deſerter, and are liable to ſevere penalties if they harbour, or aid him in making his eſcape; and parties from the garriſon are ſent after

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'are not continually under the eyes of their 'tyrants, but for long intervals of time may 'enjoy life without reſtraint, and as their taſte 'dictates; but all the foreign ſoldiers in this 'ſervice, and thoſe of the natives, who are 'ſuſpected of any intention to deſert, and con- 'ſequently never allowed furloughs, are always 'under the eye of ſomebody, who has the power,

'after him in every direction. As none of the ſoldiers are 'ever allowed to go without the walls of the town (of Berlin), 'it requires great addreſs to get over this firſt difficulty; and 'when they have been ſo far fortunate, many chances remain againſt their eſcaping through the Pruſſian dominions; and 'even when they arrive ſafe in any of the neighbouring 'ſtates,

'*Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot caſibus actos*
'*Inſequitur.*'

'For there they will probably be obliged to enliſt again as 'ſoldiers; ſo that on the whole, however unhappy they may 'be, it is abſurd to attempt deſertion in any other way than 'by killing themſelves; which method, as I am told, begins 'to prevail.' View of Society and Manners, ubi ſupra, p. 144, 145, 146.

The travels of M. Rieſbeck contain much curious information reſpecting ſeveral parts of Germany; but he was little acquainted with England, and was ill qualified to form ſuch a comparative eſtimate, as he has attempted to make, between the different ſituation of Engliſh and Pruſſian farmers. Much, therefore, of what he has ſaid upon this ſubject is extremely abſurd; and his book contains many other injudicious and ill grounded obſervations relative to the character, conduct, and adminiſtration, of the late king of Pruſſia,

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'and too often the inclination, to controul every 'action of their bodies, and every deſire of their 'hearts[284].'

No advantages reſulting from a ſtanding army can be a compenſation for the evil, of keeping ſo great a number of men in a ſtate ſo ſervile, and ſo diſhonourable to human nature. But, indeed, thoſe large armies, which are now kept up in the different nations of Europe, are not maintained for the benefit of the people at whoſe expence they are ſupported, but for the preſervation, and augmentation, of the power of their ſeveral princes. Count Hertzberg, however, ſays, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian army, 'When an 'army is conſtituted and employed like ours, it 'is not a burthen, but rather a benefit to the 'ſtate; and the more ſo, becauſe it affords a 'ſubſtantial ſecurity againſt the ſudden and 'dangerous invaſions of any ambitious neigh-'bour. In general, it appears to me, that it is 'now decided by undoubted experience, that if 'large ſtanding armies increaſe in ſome degree 'the burthen, and the expences, of the inhabi-'tants of a country, they abundantly compenſate 'for this inconvenience by the ſecurity that they 'afford; and they alſo render wars leſs frequent, 'and leſs dangerous; becauſe that every power 'being armed, they mutually reſpect each other,

[284] View of Society and Manners, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

'whereby

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'whereby ſudden attacks, and unjuſt preten-
'ſions, are prevented. Hence it may be juſtly
'ſaid, that by this great army the king has ren-
'dered a conſiderable ſervice to the human race,
'and eſtabliſhed a kind of PERPETUAL PEACE[285].'
Of all that the count has advanced upon this ſubject, the hiſtory of the reign of Frederick alone appears to be a ſufficient refutation. He had always a numerous ſtanding army; but he was engaged in long, repeated, and ſanguinary wars; and it was certainly not true, during any part of his reign, that the different ſtates of Europe were ſecure from ſudden attacks, or from unjuſt pretenſions. The fact really is, that ſuch numerous ſtanding armies can be conſtantly kept up for no other purpoſes but thoſe of ambition; they are pernicious to the people by whom they are ſupported, and dangerous to the countries which ſurround them; and they ſhould, therefore, by the enlightened nations of Europe, be univerſally diſcountenanced.

As to the Pruſſian government, no doubt can be entertained, but that it is in a very high degree deſpotic; and count Hertzberg has endeavoured to prove, that this is the beſt kind of government, if it be well adminiſtered[286]. But the probability always is, that this ſpecies of government will not be well adminiſtered; and

[285] Diſſertation ſur la Population, &c. p. 21.

[286] Diſſertation, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

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however ably or well it may be adminiſtered, it is a ſtate of things in which human nature is degraded, and greatly inferior to a free conſtitution of government. A limited form of government, in which a proper attention is paid to the rights of the people, muſt ever be ſuperior to any mode of deſpotic government, whatever may be the character or abilities of the prince.

COUNT Hertzberg ſays, that 'ſelf-love, or 'perſonal intereſt, which is the great mover of 'all human actions, is more effectually directed 'to the happineſs of a ſociety, and of a ſtate, by 'a ſingle man, who finds it his own intereſt, 'than by many, who are never united, and who 'even cannot unite their views and their inte'reſts. If men poſſeſſed of the virtue and for'titude of ARISTIDES, of SCIPIO, and of CHAT'HAM, have not been able to ſucceed, and have 'rather abandoned the reins to an ariſtocracy, 'no other perſon ought to entertain hopes of 'ſucceeding[287].' He alſo endeavours to ſhew, that deſpotic governments may produce regulations for the public much ſuperior to any which can comport with the nature of limited governments. But this, I think, I may venture to affirm, that though the Engliſh conſtitution is not without conſiderable defects [Y], and though there

[287] Diſſertation, ut ſupra.

[Y] Among thoſe evils which the moſt loudly call for redreſs in England, one is, the practice of impreſſing ſeamen, which

there are often errors and groſs miſconduct in the public adminiſtration, yet there is no deſpotic government upon earth, in which the intereſts of the great body of the people have been ſo ſubſtantially promoted as in Great Britain. It often happens, at the cloſe of a ſeſſion, that the parliament of England have not done all that they might for the intereſt of the nation; and they not unfrequently, by paſſing new and injudicious laws, leave their conſtituents in a worſe ſituation, than before they aſſembled. But ſuch is the general excellence of the conſtitution [z], com-

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which is a diſgrace to the nation, and totally inconſiſtent with the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. It reflects no honour on the repreſentatives of the people, that they have hitherto paid ſo little attention to the plans that have been propoſed, for the removal of this grievance.

[z] The more excellent and valuable the Engliſh conſtitution is, the more vigilant ought the inhabitants of Great Britain to be, to prevent its principles from being violated. But this is far from being always the caſe. The ſtanding army is voted with too little conſideration or inquiry; the militia is not regulated as it ought to be; and the vaſt and perpetual augmentation of the exciſe is very unfavourable to national liberty. Great extenſions of the exciſe-laws have been ſupported, in both houſes of parliament, by men from whom better things might have been expected, and who have urged too much the plea of neceſſity. It does not follow, that becauſe it is neceſſary that money ſhould be raiſed for the purpoſes of government, that therefore no attention ſhould be paid to the mode by which money is to be raiſed; and it ſhould always be remembered by the people, that too implicit a con-

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compared with the deſpotic governments of Europe, that the people of England, notwithſtanding the occaſional errors of their legiſlators, have always been in a better ſituation, than the inhabitants of any deſpotic countries; whatever might be the talents of the princes who ruled over ſuch countries, or however able or upright the miniſters whom thoſe princes might employ. In no country of Europe has the perſonal liberty and property of the inhabitants been better ſecured; the laws were their ſecurity; and they have not been dependent on the will of the prince, or the caprice of his miniſters. In a government like that of Pruſſia, or in any other deſpotic government, if the prince be of a mild and beneficent diſpoſition, the ſubject may ſay, The king is good and gracious, and he will not oppreſs me. But the Engliſhman ſays, whatever may be the character of the prince, ſo long as the principles of the conſtitution are at all adhered to, This is my property, and theſe are my rights, and the king himſelf dare not take them from me. In a deſpotic government, however ably it may be adminiſtered, and whatever may be the virtues of the monarch, human nature is always in a ſtate of degradation; and a deſpotic

a confidence ought not to be placed in any adminiſtration whatever. A vigilant attention in the nation to the conduct of thoſe in power, is eſſential to the exiſtence and continuance of public freedom.

govern-

government, however it be exerciſed, muſt ever be an irrational government. For it can never be conſonant to reaſon, that the lives, liberties, and property of a whole nation, ſhould be ſubjected to the will, pleaſure, or caprice, of a ſingle man, whatever may be the compaſs of his knowledge, or whatever the extent of his abilities. CHAP. XXXIX.

COUNT Hertzberg appears to be an upright, able, and well informed miniſter, and poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities; but he has thoſe prejudices in favour of a deſpotic government, which are natural to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince. In juſtice to him, it ſhould, however, be obſerved, that notwithſtanding what he has ſaid in favour of a deſpotic government, yet, on the acceſſion of the preſent king to the throne of Pruſſia, he adviſed him to confirm, to the inhabitants of Eaſtern and Weſtern Pruſſia, their antient rights and privileges. With this advice the king complied; and by giving this advice count Hertzberg did himſelf great honour, and at the ſame time promoted the intereſt both of the prince and of the people. But, unfortunately, in any country where ſo large a ſtanding army is kept up, as that in the Pruſſian dominions, the privileges of the people muſt ever be too much dependent on the mere will and pleaſure of the monarch.

CHAP. XXXIX.

In the courſe of this Work, I have had occaſion to relate many tranſactions of war and bloodſhed; and the period of time, which this hiſtory comprehends, exhibited too many ſcenes of carnage and of deſolation. But it may be hoped, that, from a more general diffuſion of knowledge, mankind will be at length convinced, that the arts of peace are much more worthy of cultivation than thoſe of war; that a great part of the human race ought not to be ſacrificed, to gratify the pride and the ambition of a few individuals, who may accidentally be placed in ſplendid ſituations; that the rights of men are of much greater importance than the prerogatives of princes; that government was inſtituted for the benefit of human ſociety at large, and not for the private emolument of thoſe who are inveſted with the offices of magiſtracy; and that the great objects of the philoſopher, and of every enlightened legiſlator, ſhould be, the advancement of thoſe ſciences, and of thoſe arts, that tend to the true dignity and felicity of human beings; the promotion of univerſal peace and liberty; and communicating to men, throughout every quarter of the globe, the bleſſings of a mild, a juſt, and an equal government.

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